DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 108 774 RC 008 579

TITLE	Workshop on Evaluating State Title V Pilot Programs in the Northeast (October 29-31, 1974). Papers. Publication 4.
INSTITUTION	Northeast Regional Center for Rural Development, Ithaca, N.Y.
SPONS AGENCY	Rural Development Service (DOA), Washington, D.C.
PUB DATE	Jan 75
NOTE	75p.; Papers prepared for a Training Workshop on Evaluating State Title V Programs in the Northeast (October 1974)
AVAILABLE FROM	Northeast Regional Center for Rural Development, 242 Roberts Hall, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York 14853 ($1.00)
EDRS PRICE	MF-$0.76 HC-$3.32 PLUS POSTAGE
DESCRIPTORS	Conceptual Schemes; *Essays; *Evaluation Criteria; *Evaluation Needs; Expectation; Guides; Objectives; *Pilot Projects; Program Effectiveness; Research Criteria; *Rural Development; Workshops
IDENTIFIERS	*Northeastern States; Rural Development Act 1972 Title V

ABSTRACT

Four papers prepared for a training workshop sponsored by the Northeast Regional Center for Rural Development constitute this document on State Title V program evaluation needs and criteria. Entitled "Why Evaluation of the State Title V Programs: An Overview from Different Perspectives", the first paper deals with seven major audiences identified as potential users of evaluation findings and details their specific evaluation needs. The second paper is titled "Evaluation of Rural Development Programs: Toward a Paradigm to Guide the Implementation and Evaluation of Rural Development Programs" and calls for a synthesis of the vast body of existing empirical and theoretical work into a unifying paradigm that will direct research and facilitate rapport among rural development practitioners. "Evaluation Needs Under Title V of the Rural Development Act of 1972" is the title of the third paper which identified two kinds of evaluation needs--(1) the intent and expectations of Congress, and (2) program effectiveness. The final paper, "The Evaluation of Development Programs", presents detailed discussion on: the nature of development, a conceptual view of development and development processes, the nature of evaluation, guidelines in the evaluation of development programs, and critical elements in the evaluation of Title V programs. (JC)

ED108774

Northeast Regional Center for Rural Development Publication 4

January 1975

RECEIVED
JUL 17 1975

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION
THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY

Papers -

Workshop on Evaluating State Title V Pilot Programs in the Northeast

October 29-31, 1974

Northeast Regional Center for Rural Development
Cornell University, Ithaca, New York

Connecticut *Delaware* Maine *Maryland* Massachusetts *New Hampshire*
New Jersey New York *Pennsylvania* Rhode Island *Vermont* West Virginia

PC008579

0002

A publication of the
Northeast Regional Center for Rural Development
242 Roberts Hall
Cornell University
Ithaca, New York 14853

One dollar per copy

0003

FOREWORD

Included here are the prepared papers which laid the foundation for a training Workshop on Evaluating State Title V Programs in the Northeast. The Workshop was sponsored by the Northeast Regional Center for Rural Development as a part of its program conducted under Section 503 (b)(2), Title V of the Rural Development Act of 1972.

The Center was assisted in planning and conducting the Workshop by an ad hoc committee whose members were:

Edward O. Moe, Principal Sociologist and Coordinator, Rural Development Programs, Cooperative State Research Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture

Helen Y. Nelson, Professor of Community Service Education, College of Human Ecology, Cornell University

Howard C. Tankersley, Program Leader - Rural Development, Extension Title V Coordinator, Extension Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture

Joan S. Thomson, Assistant for Cooperative Relations, Cooperative Extension Service and Title V Project Leader, The Pennsylvania State University

The purposes of the Workshop were:

(1) To clarify the immediate and the longer range purposes of evaluating state Title V pilot programs;
(2) To develop a conceptual framework for evaluating state Title V pilot programs in the Northeast;
(3) To share evaluation plans among the states of the region and to help each state further develop its plans;
(4) To explore alternative strategies for conducting evaluation;
(5) To identify follow-up activities and assistance needed by the states in their evaluation work.

Workshop participants were persons designated by the Title V Coordinator in each state in the Northeast as having evaluation, administrative, or field responsibilities for the Title V pilot program.

Center staff members Lee M. Day, Leslie C. Hyde, and Dorothy J. Messenger shared in the details of preparing for and conducting the Workshop. Jocelyn Loh typed the manuscript for the Proceedings. Photographs are by Leslie C. Hyde.

Olaf F. Larson, Director
Northeast Regional Center
for Rural Development

0004

CONTENTS

Why Evaluation of The State Title V Pilot Programs: An Overview From Different Perspectives
Olaf F. Larson 1

Evaluation of Rural Development Programs: Toward a Paradigm to Guide the Implementation and Evaluation of Rural Development Programs
J. Patrick Madden 11

Evaluation Needs Under Title V of The Rural Development Act of 1972
Howard C. Tankersley 27

The Evaluation of Development Programs
Edward O. Moe 34

APPENDIXES

A. Summary of State Title V Program Approaches Abstracted From Plans of Work for Fiscal Year 1974: Northeastern States 64

B. Agenda 66

C. List of Workshop Participants 68

0005

WHY EVALUATION OF THE STATE TITLE V PILOT PROGRAMS: AN OVERVIEW FROM DIFFERENT PERSPECTIVES

Olaf F. Larson*

One answer to the question "Why evaluate the state Title V programs" [1] might be that each state is legally required to evaluate such programs under the U.S. Department of Agriculture Regulations published in the Federal Register (October 18, 1973) and in accord with the state Plan of Work prepared as provided by a memorandum of understanding between each land-grant institution of 1862 and the U.S.D.A. and approved by the Assistant Secretary of Agriculture. A more academic answer might be "Effective evaluation research is required in order to compare the consequences of a program - the actual goal achievement - with what was intended and to seek an explanation for discrepancies between plan and performance". [2] Both answers are valid but neither, I think, would completely satisfy the first purpose of this workshop, namely, "to clarify the immediate and the longer range purposes of evaluating state Title V pilot programs". Before attempting a more complete answer to the question, it may be useful to put the more current concerns of the Title V evaluation in context.

1. How did we get Title V in the Rural Development Act of 1972? Title V came through the back door. An ad hoc Committee appointed in November 1971 as a result of action taken by the Division of Agriculture, National Association of State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges, succeeded in getting what became Title V introduced by Senator Carl Curtis of Nebraska after the key rural development bill had been passed by the House. No research or educational component had been included in any of the many rural development bills which had been under consideration by Congress. The ad hoc Committee encountered skepticism in Congress as to the ability of the land-grant institutions to do rural development work. A shifting coalition supported what became Title V. These included spokesmen for such groups as the private col-

---

Olaf F. Larson is Director, Northeast Regional Center for Rural Development and Professor of Rural Sociology, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York.

*The author wishes to acknowledge the helpful comments on an earlier draft of the paper made by Lee M. Day, Director Designate, NERCRD, and by Henry A. Wadsworth, Associate Director, Cooperative Extension, Cornell University.

[1] The most distinguishing characteristic of evaluation has been stated as the measurement of outcomes of a project or program which takes place under actual operating conditions or under conditions which reflect in reasonable degree the problems associated with actual operating programs. Walter Williams in Peter H. Rossi and Walter Williams, (eds.) Evaluating Social Programs (New York: Seminar Press, 1972), p. 4.

[2] Olaf F. Larson, "Sociological Research Problems" in Larry R. Whiting (ed.), Rural Development: Research Priorities (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1973), p. 77.

leges and universities and the two-year colleges and technical schools. The final draft of Title V did not prescribe the involvement of some of the interest group supporters in a way which would insure their access to funds which might be appropriated. What emerged from Congress was a pilot three-year program with authorization of a modest amount of funds. The Rural Development Act of 1972 was signed, somewhat reluctantly, by President Nixon, reluctantly because it went counter to the administration's proposals for rural development.

I think it is fair to say that: (1) Congress is waiting for evidence that the land-grant institutions can do what their spokesmen have claimed, (2) enthusiasm for Title V in the parts of the Executive Branch crucial for supporting budget requests has not been great, and (3) some articulate parts of the system of higher education in the United States are disappointed about the lack of role or the minor role assigned them.

2. The funds appropriated for Title V have been far below the authorization levels. They have been meager in amount and late in coming. The amount for the first year for the Northeastern states ranged from about $7,000 for each of the two components - extension and research - in Rhode Island to $49,000 in Pennsylvania. The first year aggregate for the 12 states was about $430,000 (see Table, p. 10). Although Title V is now authorized through June 30, 1976 (with a one-year carryover provision for funds appropriated), the Executive Branch will be making basic decisions which bear on continuation or revision of the program long before that date.

3. With the meager and late funds, the Northeastern states have embarked on programs which are diverse in approach, in substantive areas involved, and in geographic areas covered. A summary statement of what is being tried, based on initial plans of work, might be:

Five states are taking a "grass roots" or "social process" approach; that is, the specific substantive extension and research program objectives will be worked out in cooperation with the people within the geographic area or areas selected for the pilot effort (Delaware, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New York, and Pennsylvania);

Two states will work in the land-use and land-use control area although with quite different program emphasis (New Jersey and Rhode Island);

Two states will work on aspects of economic development but with quite different emphasis (Maryland and Vermont); the Vermont plan includes aspects of human resource development;

Two states (Connecticut and West Virginia) are working in the area of community services - personal health services in the case of Connecticut and rural fire protection, rural public transportation and community emergency medical services in the case of West Virginia;

One state (Maine) is emphasizing the improvement of rural housing.

Geographic areas involved include a single community, two or more communities, a single county, two or more counties or a multi-county area, and an entire state. (See Appendix C).

With this context, let us return to the question "Why evaluate state Title V pilot programs?" I suggest that the answer, which bears on evaluation strategies and on evaluation design, may be approached from the perspective of the several audiences who are the potential users of the evaluation findings. Each of these audiences has some specific questions which they would like to have answered. The questions may not be the same from audience to audience. The relative importance which a given audience attaches to a specific question may vary over time. For those who must make decisions about evaluation strategies and designs, the several audiences may not carry equal weights or the weighting may shift over time.

The Audiences

I have identified seven major audiences for your consideration:

1. Congress including its sub-systems, e.g., the Senate Committee on Agriculture and Forestry and its Sub-committee on Rural Development, the counterpart committee in the House, the Appropriations committees, committee staff members, individual members of the Senate [3] and the House and their staff, and, as an agent for Congress, the General Accounting Office.

2. The Secretary of Agriculture (and his surrogates) who is directed and authorized to do certain things under Title V and also under Title VI of the Rural Development Act. His surrogates for Title V will include the Assistant Secretary for Conservation, Research and Education; the Cooperative State Research Service; the Extension Service; and the planning and evaluation unit attached to the Secretary's office. Surrogates for the Secretary for his Title VI coordination and goal-formulating responsibilities include the Assistant Secretary for Rural Development and the Rural Development Service.

3. The Office of the President, including the Office of Management and Budget.

4. The National Association of State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges and its component sub-systems, e.g., the Division of Agriculture, its Council of Administrative Heads of Agriculture, and the Division's Rural Development Committee; the Extension Service section, the Extension Committee on Organization and Policy and the Cooperative Extension Legislative Committee; the Experiment Station section, the Experiment Station Committee on Organization and Policy and its legislative sub-committee; and the Council of Presidents.

5. College administrators and extension and research staff with direct and immediate responsibility for conducting the state Title V programs, together with the State Rural Development Advisory Council members.

6. A diverse set of "publics" and interest groups outside the land-grant colleges of 1862 and the USDA. These range from the local to the

---

[3] In response to a request from Senator Hubert Humphrey, the Council for Agricultural Sciences and Technology, headquartered at Iowa State University, has established a Task Force to review the area of rural development. See News From Cast, vol. 1, no. 4 (October, 1974).

national levels. They may be public or private in nature, organized or unorganized. They include the communities and agencies involved in some way with the Title V pilot programs. They include local government officials. Some in this audience category are critical of the leadership role assigned the land-grant institutions of 1862.

7. Scholars and professionals concerned with rural development policies, programs, and strategies.

Some Questions From the Audiences

Now let us look at some examples of questions to which I can imagine these audiences might like answers, leaving aside conventional fiscal accounting.

1. Congress - There are at least four major questions to which I assume Congress will want answers. They are:

A. Have the state Title V pilot programs been in compliance with the law and been conducted in accord with the intent of Congress? For example, specifically:

(1) Has the content of the Extension and the Research programs been consistent with what the law says they shall be, or may be (Section 502 a and b; this assumes that no funds will be appropriated for the small farm programs)?

(2) To what extent have the audiences identified by the law been actually served (Section 501a and Section 502 a and b)?

(3) To what extent were other private and publicly supported colleges and universities, including any College of 1890 in the state, a School of Engineering, community colleges, and area technical institutes participants in the program? [4] Was the program among these educational institutions co-ordinated?

(4) To what extent were the discipline resources of the entire campus - beyond those typically in colleges of agriculture, engineering, and home economics - utilized? [5]

(5) Did the State Rural Development Advisory Councils have the size and composition specified by law and perform the functions expected (Section 504e)?

(6) Was the program co-ordinated with the rural development programs of Federal, State, and local government (Section 505a)?

(7) What was learned in the extension and research programs about techniques and organization structure which could be used in

---

[4] See statement, Explanation of the Rural Development Act of 1972, p. 15, made to the Senate on August 17, 1972 by Senator Herman E. Talmadge, Chairman of the Senate Committee on Agriculture and Forestry in presenting the Conference report on H.R. 12931, 92nd Congress, 2nd Session.

[5] Ibid, p. 16.

an extended and expanded Title V program? [6]

B. What were the results and impacts of the Title V program in relation to the two levels of purposes or objectives specified in Title V?

(1) At the most general level, what did the program contribute to achieving the overall purpose of Title V, i.e., "to encourage and foster a balanced national development that provides opportunities for increased numbers of Americans to work and enjoy a high quality of life dispersed throughout our nation" (Section 501)?

(2a) More specifically, to what extent were those involved with public services and investments in rural areas or who provide or may provide employment in rural areas supplied with scientific, technical, economic, organizational, environmental, and management information and knowledge useful to them and to what extent were they assisted and encouraged in the interpretation and application of this information to the practical problems and needs in rural development as defined [7] (Sections 501a and 502a)? What was the impact of the use of this information in achieving rural development goals?

(2b) To what extent was knowledge and information developed through research and investigation useful to those planning, carrying out, managing, or investing in facilities, services, businesses, or other enterprises - public and private - that may contribute to rural development as defined (Sections 501b and 502b)? What was the impact of the use of the research results in achieving rural development goals?

C. To what extent have the funds provided the Title V program and the experience with it enhanced the capabilities of colleges and universities to perform the public service roles of research, transfer, and practical application of knowledge in support of rural development as defined (Section 501c)? To what extent has this encouraged the 1862 institutions and their cooperators to allocate resources to rural development?

D. A "hidden" or latent question is: "Are the assumptions underlying the Title V program valid, i.e., that the institutions of higher

---

[6] Ibid, p. 16.

[7] "Rural development" means the planning, financing, and development of facilities and services in rural areas that contribute to making these areas desirable places in which to live and make private and business investments; the planning, development, and expansion of business and industry in rural areas to provide increased employment and income; the planning, development, conservation, and use of land, water, and other natural resources of rural areas to maintain or enhance the quality of the environment for people and business in rural areas; and processes and procedures that have said objectives as their major purposes (Section 507a).

education, under the leadership of the land-grant colleges of 1862, are capable of making an effective contribution through research and extension to the solution of practical problems and needs of rural development?"

If the answer is affirmative, what is needed to further enhance this capability?

If the assumptions are not valid, what are the alternatives for providing the scientific inquiry and the educational effort to back up rural development?

2. The Secretary of Agriculture - As the responsible administrator for Title V, the Secretary needs the types of information listed above under the first major question for Congress, since it is he who must answer questions from Congress as to whether the program has been conducted in conformity with the law and the intent of Congress.

He also needs information about results and impacts to assist him in making budget and policy recommendations to the Office of the President and to Congress about the program. To assist in making these recommendations it would seem that the Secretary and his surrogates should have information as to inputs into the pilot extension and research programs by the 1862 institutions, by cooperating institutions in higher education, by Federal agencies, by State agencies, by local government, by the local community, and by the private sector. He should have information to give him an awareness and understanding of the processes initiated. He should have the most reliable information possible on changes, direct and secondary, positive and negative, planned and unplanned, which can reasonably be attributed to the program. Considering the short time span allowed for the pilot effort, it may be necessary to depend heavily on lead indicators of change and on evidence of intermediate outputs.

To assist him in making policy recommendations, I would also expect the Secretary to welcome evidence on the third and fourth major questions above identified for Congress. To these, he could well add a fifth question, i.e., what is the effectiveness of the Title V program considering costs and benefits. We would hope that benefits would not be limited to those to which a dollar sign can be attached.

Finally, the Secretary necessarily has an additional interest, I assume, in evaluation of the State Title V pilot programs because of the USDA prescribed Regulations for their conduct. These regulations (Federal Register, October 18, 1973) represent the department's interpretation, for purposes of administrative implementation, of the law and of the intent of Congress. Questions which a reading of the Regulations suggests should be answered by evaluation efforts, in addition to or supplementing questions already identified, are as follows:

A. What progress was made toward achieving the extension and research objectives stated in the approved Plan of Work?

B. How integrated, how complementary were the extension and research components of the state program?

C. How effective were the extension and the research program techniques?

D. How effective was the organizational structure for planning and conducting the extension and research programs?

E. Did the program give priority to education and research assistance leading to increasing job and income opportunities, improving quality of life, improving essential community services and facilities, improving housing and home improvements, and enhancing those social processes necessary to achieve these goals?

F. Did the program concentrate on limited geographic or problem areas where Title V efforts could be expected to have high impact within the three-year period authorized for the pilot effort?

3. Office of the President - As a basis for decision-making on programs and budgets to recommend to Congress and to support or oppose, it may be assumed that the Office of the President would have a special interest in information on results and impacts and on program effectiveness.

4. The National Association of State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges - Perspectives as to questions to be answered by evaluation studies may differ among the several key decision-making points within NASULGC. However, from among the questions already listed for other audiences we might expect a special interest in information on:

A. Impacts and results, including the achievement of objectives set forth in the Plans of Work.

B. The enhancement of the capabilities of the institutions of higher education to perform public service roles in support of rural development, and,

C. The validity of the assumptions concerning the land-grant institutions of 1862 and other institutions of higher education which were made in instituting the Title V rural development pilot effort.

If the assumptions are found unwarranted, then there should be interest in knowing why this is so and what changes the institutions would need to make in organization, staffing patterns and practices, incentive and reward systems, and in other respects to validate the assumptions.

5. College Administrators and Others With Direct Responsibility for the State Title V Programs - Even though there were no formal or legal requirements for doing so, the administrators, extension and research staffs, and Advisory Council members responsible for the state programs would have a vested interest in the best information they could obtain from the monitoring and evaluation of the pilot programs. If I correctly interpret their perspective, their interests would include:

A. Assessing progress toward stated program objectives;

B. Assessing extension and research program techniques, the program

organizational structure and related factors as a means of understanding "why" desired changes occurred or did not occur. In other words, they would be seeking information which could be fed back to increase program performance in the specific situations in which the pilot programs are being conducted;

C. To acquire knowledge concerning strategies, processes, techniques, organization, etc., which would be useful in extending the pilot program to other areas.

6. Publics and Interest Groups Outside of the Land-Grant Colleges of 1862 and the USDA - Information on impacts and results, and on program effectiveness, including costs and benefits and their distribution, is assumed to be a common concern, at least potentially, of all of these publics and groups.

Some, however, have special concerns. For example, the 1890 land-grant institutions and other types of publicly and privately supported colleges and universities may well be expected to desire evidence that the Title V program was conducted in compliance with the law, the intent of Congress, and the USDA Regulations with respect to their involvement in the pilot programs.

Further, constituencies for some of the audiences for research and extension assistance which were identified in the legislation will be looking for evidence that these audiences were served. Also, advocates of certain types of review, approval and coordination procedures which were eliminated from the final draft of the law or from the original draft of the Regulations will be alert for evidence which will bear on the position they took.

7. Scholars and Professionals - Numerous scholars and professionals, most of whom are not involved in the immediate Title V program operations, will have an interest not only in "descriptive" evaluation but in "explanatory" evaluation. Why or how did the program succeed in producing the effects that it did?

This group is interested in cumulative, generalizable knowledge which lends itself to application in other rural development and related situations. Some in this group have an interest in using the evaluation results as an aid in policy analysis and in devising alternative program models.

In the Northeast what knowledge can we aggregate from the experiences of the 12 states which will be useful for generating policy, for improving program procedures, and for staff training? Since diverse approaches are being used among the 12 states what might be learned from a comparative analysis of the different approaches?

Summary

The extent to which the several audiences I have named have common or unique questions which evaluation might attempt to answer

could be shown by a matrix, with columns for the audiences and rows for the questions.

I am not suggesting that all of the audiences and the illustrative questions should be weighted equally for the immediate purposes of evaluating the state Title V programs and considering the constraints posed by limited resources to do the evaluation. Neither am I proposing that every state should necessarily attempt to provide answers to the entire set of questions posed; perhaps there is an opportunity for some division of labor and cooperative effort in conducting the evaluation. The major purposes of the monitoring and evaluation might be condensed somewhat as follows:

1. To determine the results and impacts of the Title V pilot extension and research programs and their effectiveness;

2. To determine the extent of compliance with the law, the intent of Congress and the USDA Regulations in conducting the pilot programs;

3. To determine the extent to which participation in the program has enhanced the capabilities of institutions of higher learning to perform public service roles in support of rural development;

4. To provide some test of the validity of the assumptions concerning the land-grant institutions of 1862 and other colleges and universities which underly the establishment of the Title V pilot effort;

5. Through 1, 2, 3 and 4 to provide a more informed basis for decisions by policy makers and the public as to the continuation and expansion, modification, or termination of a Title V type program.

6. To improve program performance of the Title V pilot efforts in specific situations; and

7. To increase generalizable knowledge about rural development and about the application of research and extension by institutions of higher learning to achieve rural development objectives in a variety of situations.

The diversity of audiences and the range of their information needs and interests, combined with the constraints and the context of the present pilot effort, complicates the decisions which will need to be made with respect to evaluation efforts. Some resolution of the conceptual, strategy, design and measurement problems of evaluating the Title V programs is what we will be making a start on working through together during the rest of this workshop.

Northeastern States' Shares of Appropriations for Title V,
Rural Development Act of 1972, Fiscal Year 1974

State	State Total	Extension	Research
Connecticut	$25,840	$12,920	$12,920
Delaware	15,816	7,908	7,908
Maine	23,170	11,585	11,585
Maryland	35,446	17,723	17,723
Massachusetts	29,742	14,871	14,871
New Hampshire	18,596	9,298	9,298
New Jersey	29,796	14,898	14,898
New York	81,074	40,537	40,537
Pennsylvania	98,192	49,096	49,096
Rhode Island	14,238	7,119	7,119
Vermont	20,228	10,114	10,114
West Virginia	37,530	18,765	18,765
Total for 12 states	$429,668	$214,834	$214,834

Source: CSRS - OD - 1088 - B, October 26, 1973.

EVALUATION OF RURAL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS: TOWARD A PARADIGM TO GUIDE THE IMPLEMENTATION AND EVALUATION OF RURAL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS*

J. Patrick Madden

At least two central beliefs underly society's interest in rural development. First is the distributive justice argument--that all people, regardless of their place of residence, deserve equal opportunity to develop to their full potential. The second belief is that an alternative to the over-crowded megalopolis can and must be found. An orderly, rational, and rapid development of rural areas is viewed as a feasible alternative. The 1970 Census data have revealed a startling new trend in many rural areas: the population is increasing rather than decreasing. What can be done to ensure that the new population growth leads not to a deterioration in quality of life in rural communities but, rather, to an enhancement in the social and economic conditions in rural areas?

Those of us who are rural development researchers share the belief that we as scientists have something useful to offer in this significant problem area. We are challenged by the need for research to (1) identify and understand the social, political, technological[1] and economic barriers to rural development, and (2) provide better predictive knowledge (either cause-and-effect or probabilistic) that will facilitate the dis-

---

J. Patrick Madden is Professor of Agricultural Economics, The Pennsylvania State University, University Park.

* A revision of the paper presented at the Workshop.

[1] Research is needed to provide technologies that will enable small towns to continue to exist and provide a decent place for people to live. Recent legislation requires sewerage systems in many villages in Pennsylvania, for example. This is tantamount to expropriation for many homeowners since the sewerage assessment is in many cases nearly equal to the value of the property. This is a particularly difficult problem for the poor and the elderly on limited incomes. Perhaps research could come up with miniaturized sewerage systems that would be both environmentally satisfactory and economical.

Research is also needed for the development of new technology to be used by small to moderate size rural firms, including farms. The idea here is to develop "intermediate" technology (Schumacher, 1973) that will enable the type of firm usually found in rural areas to compete with large firms who have had the benefit of many years of private and publically sponsored research.

covery and implementation of more feasible and efficient ways to overcome these barriers to rural development.

Several treatises have set forth their own versions of the agenda for rural development research. What seems to be needed is a framework within which one could estimate (1) the probability that a given piece of research will succeed in making a significant social contribution, and (2) the expected social value of this contribution, in view of the uncertainties involved.

Also needed is a general pulling together and synthesis of the relevant theoretical and empirical contributions currently available. The review article by Jansma et al. is a significant contribution in the domain of economics. Likewise, the paper by Wilkinson (1974) pulls together and interprets a massive array of literature from sociology, social psychology, and other social sciences, including an extensive discussion of the problems and prospects of measuring social well-being changes associated with rural development intervention programs. Sismondo has produced excellent interdisciplinary research, both from the theoretical and empirical points of view (1973a, 1973b). Warren has written a very significant theoretical treatise relevant to rural development, "Alternative Community Paradigms" (1974).

An impressive literature is now available; but much more effort is needed in improving both the predictive ability of our theories, and our ability to apply our knowledge effectively in cooperation with practioners--those in charge of making policy decisions and carrying out rural development programs.

How can we maximize our professional contribution to this cause? What can we do to enhance the probability that, at the end of 3 or 5 or 25 years of research and experimentation, we will know more than we now know about the essential ingredients of a successful rural development effort? Given that the current efforts under Title V of the Rural Development Act of 1972 are, in effect, a pilot study, how can we be sure the results will add up to a cumulative body of knowledge, a more mature paradigm of rural development than we now possess?

The central thesis of this essay is that if we are to be optimally productive, we must be fully cognizant of the vast body of empirical and theoretical work already done, and we must synthesize these theories and data into a unifying paradigm that will both direct our research and facilitate our rapport with rural development practitioners. Research on the evaluation of rural development efforts can be considered as having three purposes:

(1) Accountability: providing data to indicate whether the rural development efforts are consistent with the enabling legislation, the Rural Development Act of 1972.

(2) Helping practitioners: providing data and predictive knowledge that will enable those in charge of the rural development efforts to do their jobs more effectively. This requires a continuing rapport between researchers and practitioners, including repeated attempts to apply existing scientific knowledge and to

identify research problems that are relevant to the decisions to be made by the rural development practitioners.

(3) Scientific growth: improvement of the quality of the theories, data, and methodologies available to researchers; that is, taking steps toward further perfection of our paradigm of rural development.

The primary focus of this essay is on the second and third of these purposes.

The Essential Role of a Research Paradigm

In this context, I use the word "paradigm" as Thomas Kuhn (1970) has used it in his important treatise, The Structure of Scientific Revolutions. If we view ourselves as a scientific community focused on rural development, then the relevant paradigm is taken to be that constellation of beliefs, values, techniques, and models that underly and lend a sense of cohesion and a motive force to our collective and individual efforts in this domain of our professional lives. A scientific paradigm seems to be conceived first as a set of commonly held beliefs, values, and concerns such as a perceived social or economic problem. In its embryo stage, a multiplicity of mutually competing theories vie for the place of prominence in the paradigm. The fully developed newborn paradigm is embraced by all, or virtually all, of the scientific community to which it pertains. Its further development is constituted in verification through the process Kuhn calls "normal science" which includes a "mopping up" of the untidy aspects of the paradigm. Most of what we call research falls in the category of normal science.

Contrasted with this variety of endeavor is "revolutionary science," in which new paradigms are proposed. Whereas normal research seeks to articulate and illustrate the phenomena and theories embodied in the already accepted paradigm, revolutionary science seeks to modify theory, and to replace the old with a new and better one. In revolutionary science, the new paradigm transcends and replaces the old, as Keynes' theory replaced classical economic theory, and in turn is being replaced by Neo-Keynesian income theory. The quest for a revolutionary new paradigm is, according to Kuhn, set into motion by a crisis spawned in the realization that the existing paradigm fails to explain a significant number of observations in the real world. The new paradigm replaces the old when it can solve the problem leading to the crisis, thus providing a theory-based place for the previously unexplained phenomena.

In the context of rural development, an example of a (rather vague and implicit) paradigm is the ambitious claims Sargent Shriver made on behalf of the Community Action Program. Local CAP agencies all over the country were heralded as the salvation of the poor, the ultimate weapon against poverty, lack of services, and general lack of opportunities for improved quality of life.

After several years of mixed successes and failures, several lessons emerged, or seemed to emerge, from the experience. For one thing, it

became clear to several observers that the local community could be made to feel worse off, rather than better, if their expectations were raised unrealistically by wild-eyed promises by innocent, enthusiastic CAP personnel. Other lessons were learned as well, many applicable to rural areas. But as far as I have been able to discern, the multiplicity of experiences and lessons were not really additive; they have not been woven into an explicit unified paradigm of rural development within which future generations of researchers and policy-makers and agency personnel could, more or less accurately, predict the outcome of various rural development stratagems. What was needed then, and what is needed now, is a theoretical basis upon which to build our collective knowledge about the "if-then's" of rural development, a systematic and explicit framework within which we can test and improve upon our ideas of the causal relations and probabilistic statements that constitute our rather rudimentary theories of rural development.

The concepts underlying the Title V activity could be viewed as a proposed new paradigm, in very rudimentary form. What we are now testing is the proposition that local rural development agents, in close cooperation with researchers and extension personnel at colleges and universities, can do a better job of causing rural development to happen than the CAP agencies were able to do. Some day in the future, hopefully, there will emerge a mature and fully developed paradigm, containing the advantages from both the CAP and the Title V approaches, as well as from all other experiences containing significant lessons. This body of theory and knowledge would serve, even better than any previous efforts, to understand the causal relations underlying the process of rural development.

It has been said that progress is constituted in making all the errors as rapidly as possible. Bacon is quoted as having said, "Truth emerges more readily from error than from confusion" (1970, p. 18). But our errors will not teach us anything unless we have some logical, systematic, theoretical basis within which to assimilate and interpret the errors in the context of the successes and other relevant data. Kuhn says ". . .a paradigm is pre-requisite to perception itself. What a man sees depends upon what he looks at and also upon what his previous visual-conceptual experience has taught him to see. In the absence of such training there can only be, in William James' phrase, 'a bloomin' buzzin' confusion'" (Kuhn, 1970, p. 113).

Is it really necessary to deal with theories and, more broadly, with paradigms to do research on rural development? No, it is not essential, if we are content to wallow in confusion for the next several years. It is not essential if we are willing to come up with a cumulative zero addition to man's ability to make systematic predictive statement regarding what will and will not work in his continuing effort to improve meaningfully the quality of life, income, employment and general level of opportunities in rural areas. Clearly, no researcher wants to be faced with the prospect of making an accounting for his stewardship with nothing to show for the time, effort and dollars that have been devoted to the cause. We all want to be as useful as possible in our individual and collective endeavors. How, then, shall we proceed? I do not pretend to have all the answers. Hopefully this essay will focus our attention more

clearly on the questions, and propose some ideas that will prove fruitful in this conference, as each of us tries to come to grips with difficult problems of designing our research strategies in the most productive possible way.

What Ought to be Measured?

What kinds of things should be measured in assessing the impact of a rural development program? How should the results of this assessment be used? What kinds of analysis are needed to provide the most useful perspective for interpreting the impact estimates?

How to Show a Program Has Been Successful

Elinson (1972) has, tongue in cheek, provided a list of things not to do if an objective measurement of program impact is desired. The following is a paraphrased version of his list. When one wishes to show that a program has been "successful," the evaluation should include the following:

1. A control group should not be used, or if it is included in the survey, the data from the control group should be ignored in doing the analysis.

2. If a control group is used, it should be selected purposively, or matched retrospectively so that the data will look as favorable as possible to the program.

3. Effort (input) variables should be used as criteria of success, rather than effect (impact) variables. Dollar volume of program budget, number of persons contacted, tonnage of educational material distributed, and other such effort variables are frequently used in lieu of any direct measure of the impact of the program.

4. The evaluation should be done preferably by those in charge of the program; or at least by persons directly answerable to those in charge. In this way, the evaluation can be steered away from detection of any dimensions of well-being that are being adversely influenced by the program; also, the analytical and survey techniques can be better controlled in the desired direction.

5. The results should not be subjected to peer review nor should they be published in the scientific literature. Rather, a confidential report should be issued for limited distribution.

The Domain of Evaluation Research

Considerable disagreement is found in the literature regarding the appropriate and legitimate domain of program evaluation. On one hand, Guttentag (1973) argues strongly that program evaluation should be keyed rather closely to assessment of the effects of interest to program administrators. Her contention is that much program evaluation research in the

past has focused on testing of hypotheses interesting only to the evaluator, and of little or no interest to the program administrator. She argues that the testing of null hypotheses should not be done in program evaluation; rather, tests of significance should focus on comparison of relevant alternative hypotheses posed by the program people. She proposes that the data gathering and analysis processes should be intimately tied in with the value judgments, preferences, and expectations of program decision-makers. She contends the decision as to the type of measurement to be undertaken should be based on two questions: what is at stake in the program decision, and what are the odds of the various alternative contingencies actually occurring.

Clearly this rather tightly circumscribed kind of evaluation effort is desired by some program officials. One would hope, however, that this approach would be accompanied by a broader kind of inquiry, not limited to the hypotheses interesting to the program personnel. In contrast to Guttentag, and in the interest of science and society, researchers should be encouraged to ask a broader range of questions, some of which would be characterized by program administrators as irrelevant, or perhaps irreverent.

Arrow's conceptualization of social issues (1963 and 1967) seems highly dependent upon the implications of alternative choices, in the broadest possible sense. Arrow views each policy alternative as a vector, composed of many different dimensions. Researchers should be encouraged to probe many dimensions of well-being. Some program administrators would restrict our range of inquiry to those dimensions likely to exhibit a beneficial effect from their program; they would feel more comfortable if we would ignore the spin-off or side effect dimensions of well-being also influenced by the program, either in the short run or the long run.

In setting out to evaluate a rural development program, ancillary analysis is usually needed to provide a realistic perspective. A program evaluation ideally includes four stages: (1) context, (2) input, (3) process, and (4) output: end-product or impact estimation.

"Context evaluation" would be used when a project is first being planned (Stufflebeam, 1968). Its major objective is to define the environment where change is to occur, the current trends, the environment's unmet needs, problems underlying those needs, and opportunities for change. This information leads to the establishment of program goals and objectives.

"Input evaluation" would identify and assess resources and appropriate strategies to meet these goals and objectives; it would also consider alternative program designs.

"Process evaluation" is designed to reveal essential features of program implementation which contribute to the success or failure of the program. Process analysis is intended to identify or predict defects in procedural design or its implementation by monitoring potential barriers during program implementation. Process analysis must, according to Sam Leadley (1974), be performed during the program's implementation. The data to be collected depends on the program involved and the researcher's

selection of a social science model of change processes. "For example, the sociological model for institutionalization of services alerts the researcher to data dealing with legitimation, cooptation, and the application of social control mechanisms."

Key process variables that could be monitored are (1) the development of communication patterns, e.g., how information is transmitted and received between clients and program staff; (2) the emergence of mutual agreements regarding program intent and mechanisms for social control, e.g., rules, guidelines, policies; (3) the development of logistical and interaction patterns leading to program legitimation. Process evaluation is initiated after a designed course of action has been approved and implementation has begun. Analysis of process examines the path followed from the initial planning stages to program conclusion. Further, when attention is focused on process as an entity, side effect dimensions are an integral part of the overall evaluation, since observing the interaction of the new with the old is a primary objective.

Standing by itself, process analysis is not intended to evaluate the success or failure of a program. Output or impact estimation is needed for that purpose. By examining the procedures followed, process analysis can provide evidence as to why the program may have succeeded or failed. This information is essential for improving program design and procedure, i.e., for effecting process control. Thus, process analysis, along with context and input analysis, should ordinarily accompany the analysis of program output or impact.

"Impact estimation" is the most obvious type of analysis, the type most people seem to think of when program evaluation is mentioned. Despite its pre-eminence, however, impact estimation is no more important to a thorough program evaluation than any of the other three types of analysis.

Multiple regression is often used in the estimation of the impact of the program, while statistically holding other variables constant. Regardless of the sophistication of the statistical methods used, however, unless the relevant data are collected in a valid manner, the results will be useless. The question of relevance hinges on the paradigm underlying the study. Unless a set of data has a theoretical basis in the overall evaluation model, chances are the data isn't worth collecting. The paradigm should dictate the data to be collected, and it should be the basis for interpreting the findings.

Validity of the Data

Campbell and Stanley (1967) list an extensive array of problems encountered in retaining validity in measurement devices. One of the problems they cite is that of the reactive effects of experimental arrangements, "which would preclude generalization about the effect of the experimental variable upon persons being exposed to it in nonexperimental settings." This is an example of the problem of external validity, or representativeness of the results to a broader population beyond the scope of the sample. For example, when one county or location is selected for a rural development effort, how confidently can we apply the lessons learned to other locations in the same state or in other states? External validity is

contrasted with internal validity, which has to do with the interpretation of the effects found with reference only to the sample.

In addition to the selection or development of appropriate instruments to collect data, it is imperative that the survey or other data collection process be designed properly, so that external validity may be achieved. One of the most comprehensive treatments of this subject is given by Campbell and Stanley (1967). Webb, et al. (1966) presents a very useful list of potential problems and pitfalls in doing survey research. Hardin (1971) discusses a wide variety of approaches to development of control groups. Some rather novel and interesting approaches are suggested. Elinson (1972) has presented a brief and rather critical review of the scientific and statistical standards used in studies to determine effectiveness of social action programs in health and welfare. He claims very few (he counts only 10) studies over the past ten years have met his rather stringent criteria for rigor.

Webb and others (1966) discuss several factors that have been known to reduce the internal validity of the measurement operation. For example, they list the "guinea pig effect"; this is due to the awareness of being tested. Another problem is what they call "role selection," the fact that some respondents tend to assume a specialized role from among the many "true" selves they may be capable of exhibiting to the interviewer. Still another problem is the fact that the measurement itself can sometimes be a change agent, tending to cause the respondent to change his behavior, thereby reducing the validity of subsequent observations.

A persistent problem in obtaining attitudinal data is one of response sets. Pignone and Scanlan (1973), for example, found a serious problem of acquiescent response set among elderly respondents. That is, the person tends to respond favorably to both a proposition and its converse.

Measurement of Happiness or Satisfaction Versus Objective Variables

Miller (1970) has compiled an impressive array of survey instruments that may be used to measure various aspects of well-being. The question addressed here is not how to measure happiness or life-satisfaction, but whether such measures are appropriate for the evaluation of rural development programs.

Some societies, particularly Western societies, have been characterized as being on a "Hedonistic Treadmill." That is, as individuals find themselves better off in period two than they were in period one, their aspiration for further improvement in period three tends to make them dissatisfied with the improvement already experienced. This syndrome has serious implications with regard to the selection of instruments for measurement for program impact.

For example, Easterlin (1973) found a positive relation between "happiness" and income, in each of 30 national population surveys he examined. Eleven of these surveys were done in the United States; the other 19 were done in other countries, including three communist nations, and eleven countries in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. This relationship held up only within countries, and not between countries. When you compare rich

and poor countries, or higher and lower income situations in a given country at two different times, the happiness differences one might expect on the basis of differences in income do not appear.

Easterlin offers an explanation for this paradox. He suggests the answer lies in the way people form their value judgments regarding their criteria for happiness. "The satisfaction one gets from his material situation depends not on the absolute amount of goods he has, but on how this amount compares with what he thinks he needs." Even within the United States, he points out, the great majority of Americans have a level of living that would have been considered wealthy two centuries ago. Nonetheless, the typical American today does not consider himself wealthy by contemporary standards. Economic growth and rising incomes are accompanied by an upward shift in perceived needs, which tends to offset the positive effect an increase in income would have otherwise. This syndrome is called the "Hedonistic Treadmill."

Strumpel (1973) comes to the same conclusion, while drawing a fine distinction between economic theory and psychological adaptation level theory. The latter theory assumes that man has an almost unlimited capacity to adjust to reality, his yardsticks for judging his situation. "As the environment becomes more pleasurable, subjective standards for gauging pleasurableness will rise."

This concept has staggering implications for the measurement of satisfaction associated with programs. Suppose, for example, there are two groups of persons, essentially equal in characteristics except that one group is about to enter into a new intervention program bringing them a far higher level of consumption of some specific goods or services. (This could be, for example, the Congregate Meals Program for the Elderly.) Let us consider three points in time. At time one, just prior to the initiation of the program, both groups are observed in a sample survey. At time two, the same individuals are re-interviewed using essentially the same survey instruments, and it is ascertained that in this very short time period the participants have become significantly happier than they were in the first survey. The obvious conclusion is that the program induced this increase in happiness. (Let us leave aside for the moment the way happiness would be measured.)

Now suppose the Hedonistic Treadmill comes into play, and the program participants begin to aspire to even higher levels of these same or perhaps different goods and services than the ones provided by the program. Conceivably, if these new and additional goods and services are not forthcoming as desired, the participant group could sink to their previous level of happiness, so that in the long run both the participants and the non-participants are equal in this regard. In the broad historical and cultural perspective, this seems like a distinct possibility.

This being the case, it seems imperative that programs be evaluated not solely on the basis of perceived changes in satisfaction or happiness (however measured) but primarily on the basis of changes in objective conditions--e.g., availability of services within 30 minutes, sanitary water supply, increased employment, higher incomes, more equal distribution of income or wealth, etc. In other words, the goals of the rural development

programs should be stated in terms of objective measurable outcomes, which are explicitly recognized to be related to happiness or satisfaction in one way or another. A program which is effective in improving one or more of these conditions would not necessarily be judged "unsuccessful," just because the clients remain (or become increasingly) unhappy or dissatisfied. Dick Hoke has put it rather well: "An undernourished person who enters the program constantly hungry and then regularly receives three meals a day is not being poorly served merely because he remains dissatisfied due to a continued craving for cheesecake and chocolate eclairs...it is possible in most value contexts to distinguish between a perceived good and a real good, with the latter being (in principle) objectively determined by the judgment of the proverbial scientific investigator..." He goes on to say that the happiness of the client population should not be ignored, but that this should not be the primary basis of assessing the impact of a program (Hoke, 1974).

Obviously, we as researchers should not ignore the subjective measures (values, attitudes, contentment, etc.). Far from it. As Wilkinson has pointed out (in his excellent review of an earlier draft of this essay):

> "...It is possible to measure attitudes and attitude change without making normatively hedonistic assumptions. Measures of alienation, aspiration, community identity and general 'climate of opinion' can be very useful in assessing impacts. The error would be in relying entirely on these. I would suggest that the gap between objective and perceived changes in status (e.g., between 'absolute' and 'relative' deprivation) could tell much about quality of life, unless we are assuming that the only real deprivations are absolute. (I'm not able to assume this.)"

I concur with this suggestion up to a point: We should not shy away from making normative judgments as to the human value relevance of the dimensions we select for measurement in an evaluation study. In fact, we should make this selection within an explicit paradigm. Each dimension should be clearly identified as either a means or an end within the overall model of rural development and individual/social well-being.

One reason why the subjective data must be collected in an evaluation study is compelling: to provide a basis for validating the paradigm and the objective measures. It is possible (hopefully unlikely!) that the subjective data would indicate the people consider themselves worse off, while the objective data all indicate they should be better off. If this were to happen, we would be obliged to take a hard look at our objective measures and our idea of what constitutes "progress" in rural development; our paradigm would surely have to undergo major surgery, including both amputation and organ transplants. Conversely, one would hypothesize that improvements in the objective measures should be positively correlated with improvements in several of the subjective items, such as those reflecting perceived satisfaction, relative deprivation, alienation, etc.

Organizing the Data

Once the decision has been made as to the appropriate data to be col-

lected and the site has been selected, we are still faced with the problem of collecting and organizing all the necessary data. Lee Day has suggested a matrix for use in assembling the data.

Administrative Structure

If I were to venture a guess as to the aspect of rural development research that is most critical and most likely to be the limiting factor causing failure of the whole effort ... my answer would be the administrative structure. The level of funding of rural development intervention programs and evaluative research are obviously miniscule in relation to the absolute need. However, I view inadequate funding as the second most significant barrier to effective rural development research. Even with adequate funding, our efforts will prove to be futile unless we (1) avoid scattering our research resources too thinly, (2) learn to organize ourselves into effective research efforts with a well developed research paradigm, and (3) remain en rapport with the local community and the rural development practitioner.

A corollary of inadequate funding is too low a level of the quantity and quality of the scientific manpower input to the research. The summation of several fractions of a man-year often adds up to a zero, in terms of creative research. Sismondo contends that all excellent quality research efforts he has seen have been based on at least one intellectual giant (who can grasp the relevant theories) rather than 4 or 5 rookies.

The problem of critical mass is nowhere more problematic than in a relatively new and uncharted line of research. The extreme importance of an appropriate theoretical paradigm has been discussed. It is just essential that each researcher in charge of a significant portion of the evaluation be given enough freedom from his or her other duties, and enough time with his professional peers and persons from other relevant disciplines, so he or she can internalize the necessary paradigm and the research techniques needed to gather and analyze the data effectively. What is likely to happen is that too many researchers will be spread too thinly to be able to make the intellectual investment necessary for a really creative research effort. This is a challenge to the research administrator; I would like very much to be proven wrong on this prediction.

The second critical area of administration is the need to maintain rapport (including respect and trust) between the researcher and the intended audience. The researcher needs to be in rapport with the policy makers and agency personnel and other practitioners at the grass roots level, both at the beginning of the study (so the correct research questions are addressed) and after the study is completed the findings must be communicated to the users in a way they can understand and apply to their on-going operations. During the first stage of the research--the context analysis--the researcher will inevitably come up with a lot of data that will be of great interest to the program administrator and other practitioners involved in the rural development effort. These data should be communicated to these potential users as clearly and as rapidly as is feasible within the constraints of good quality research.

The roles of the researcher and the practitioner are highly complementary and frequently overlapping in the task of analyzing and helping to resolve problems of rural development. Researchers can facilitate this development by providing timely and lucid knowledge. And by being actively engaged with practitioners in providing guidance for action, the researcher receives a feedback of additional research problems and exceptional observations which can spawn additional hypotheses (Madden, 1970).

The finest example I have seen of maintaining continuing rapport with the user-clientele is the work of Sergio Sismondo in New Brunswick, Canada (1973a, 1973b). His operation included both research and operational components, constantly in contact with each other and with the clientele. Their results in terms of actual accomplishment of several key aspects of rural development is astonishing--increased income and employment, increased political awareness and participation by the masses, development of new industries employing hundreds of formerly welfare-dependent persons, etc. Sismondo is absolutely convinced that the success of the program (called New Brunswick NewStart) is critically dependent upon maintaining rapport between the research team and the community, particularly the local power elites, agency personnel, and entrepreneurs.

The Task Force on Rural Development, within the National Academy of Science, has recently finished a report entitled, "Guidelines for Management and Design of Rural Development Research." This report emphasizes the need for a thorough study of the way in which rural development research may be most effectively and efficiently organized to accomplish the ultimate objectives of rural development (Eberts, 1974). If this study is funded, it could provide an excellent addition to the development of a truly effective paradigm for rural development research.

Comments on the Evaluation Plans in the Proposals of the Twelve Northeastern States

Evaluation plans from 12 Northeastern states were sent to me as part of the background reading for the preparation of the essay. The plans I received were abbreviated and, in some cases, possibly preliminary. Therefore, I realize that the impressions gleaned from those materials may be erroneous, far out of date with current plans of the respective states. With this admission of fallibility, I will now proceed to summarize the major point in the evaluation components of the proposals.

Five of the 12 states have selected a particular service as the focus of the rural development effort. This decision was made apparently on the advice of an appointed advisory council, or at least with their acquiescence. In two other states, economic growth (income and/or employment) is the focus. In one state the emphasis is to be on some topic of primary interest to environmentalists. In the remaining four states (Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New York, and Pennsylvania) this decision has been postponed until the interests and priorities of the target area and/or its representatives have been determined.

The proposals are, for the most part, not clear as to whether a baseline survey will be done. The states seem about evenly split between those

that intend to determine program priorities via surveys versus those that choose to rely on the advisory councils. A household survey will be done in Pennsylvania, for example, to provide data to be used later in estimating program impact, to gather certain elements of the context data, and to get a reading on the values and priorities of the population in the study area. Perhaps other states will be doing a similar study, but this was not clear from the material I received.

In 4 of the 12 states, the evaluation plan stated explicitly that the state or local advisory council will have the responsibility of evaluating the rural development activity. Given that these councils are composed almost exclusively of very busy executives, it seems clear that only a very perfunctory "evaluation" will be performed. And given the small amount of money allotted to some of the states for this Title V activity, perhaps no more than a cursory evaluation is warranted. Anything more profound might be an utter waste of everyone's time and a chunk of the limited budget--a little like doing an extensive study to determine whether a bucket of red ink dumped in Lake Erie would cause Niagara Falls to turn red! Part of the output of the Title V pilot study, nation-wide, should be a clear signal to Congress and the Office of Management and Budget regarding the minimum critical mass of research and operating funds, below which any effort would be a total waste. Some of the 12 state proposals leave me with the uneasy feeling that they fall below this minimum.

Another impression gleaned from my review of the state proposals is that nearly all of them lack several of the key ingredients of good scientific research. Perhaps this impression is incorrect, due to my error of interpretation, or maybe the state proposals are out of date. More than likely, the researchers involved cannot be held responsible for the seeming inadequacies, because several are spread so thinly between teaching and various research responsibilities that they cannot be expected to do a Grade A job on their rural development research and program evaluation. Nonetheless, as they now stand, the state plans generally lack a clear recognition of the need to build a paradigm encompassing the massive body of theory and empirical research in the literature on human ecology, regional economics, public finance, social stratification (particularly on vertical social mobility) demography, political science, etc. The vast intellectual resources of social science need to be tapped. A major obstacle to overcome in such multi-discipline teamwork is the "Tower of Babel" syndrome wherein the specialized vocabularies of the various disciplines prohibit effective communication essential to the construction of a unifying paradigm.

Another crucial element typically found lacking in the state plans is a systematic mechanism for providing continuing rapport between the researchers and (1) the clientele population, and (2) the rural development practitioners. Sismondo (1973b) has suggested a general policy research paradigm which makes explicit the circular flow of information between the researchers and the significant others in the rural development effort. This is such an essential aspect of the overall strategy that it can be ignored only at the peril of the success of the rural development research.

Conclusion

These comments are offered here mainly to facilitate further discussion in the various work sessions. Hopefully the concepts presented will illumine our efforts to make a truly meaningful input into the knowledge base, the theories--the research paradigm--at the heart of the science of rural development.

References cited*

1. Schumacher, E. F. Small is Beautiful - Economics as if People Mattered. New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1973.

2. Jansma, Dean; Gamble, Hayes; Madden, Patrick, and Warland, Rex. "Rural Development: Problems and Prospects." (Unpublished paper prepared at the request of the Literature Review Committee of the American Agricultural Economics Association; to appear in Am. Journal of Agri. Econ.) January 1974.

3. Wilkinson, Kenneth P. "Social Well-Being and Rural Community Development: Issues in Policy and Theory." Department of Agricultural Economics and Rural Sociology, The Pennsylvania State University, unpublished manuscript, (delivered at 1974 Rural Sociology Meetings in Montreal), 48 pp., January 1974.

4. Sismondo, Sergio. The Measurement of Development: Selected Findings for Rural Communities in Kent County. Richibucto, New Brunswick, Canada: New Brunswick NewStart, Inc., Report No. R-73-115, 1973.

5. Sismondo, Sergio. Social Indicators for Policy Research and Democratic Action: A Paradigm and Some Examples. Richibucto, New Brunswick, Canada: New Brunswick NewStart, Inc., Report No. R-73-119, 1973.

6. Warren, Roland L. "Alternative Community Paradigms." Paper presented at Eastern Sociological Society seminar, April 6, 1974.

7. Kuhn, Thomas S. The Structure of Scientific Revolutions. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2nd Edition, 1970.

8. Elinson, Jack. "Effectiveness of Social Action Programs in Health and Welfare," in Carol H. Weiss, Evaluating Action Programs, 1972, pp. 294-299.

9. Guttentag, Marcia. "Subjectivity and Its Use in Evaluation Research," Evaluation, Vol. 1, No. 2, 1973, pp. 60-65.

10. Arrow, Kenneth J. Social Choice and Individual Values. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 2nd Edition, 1963.

11. _____. "Public and Private Values," in Human Values and Economic Policy, ed. by Sidney Hook, New York University Press, 1967, pp. 3-21.

* In the order in which references first appear in the text.

12. Stufflebeam, Daniel L. "Toward a Science of Educational Evaluation," Educational Technology, July 30, 1968.

13. Leadley, Sam M. Preliminary manuscript on program evaluation. Department of Agricultural Economics and Rural Sociology, The Pennsylvania State University, 1974.

14. Campbell, Donald T. and Stanley, Julian C. Experimental and Quasi-Experimental Designs for Research. Chicago: Rand McNally & Co., 1967.

15. Webb, E. J.; Campbell, D. T.; Schwartz, R. D.; and Sechrest, Lee. Unobtrusive Measures. Chicago: Rand McNally & Company, 1966.

16. Hardin, Einar. "On the Choice of Control Groups". Paper presented at the Conference on the Evaluation of the Impact of Manpower Programs, Columbus, Ohio, June 1971.

17. Pignone, M. M., SND., and Scanlan, A. S., SND. Participant Analysis: Congregate Meals for the Elderly in Luzerne County, Pennsylvania. Paths Out of Poverty Working Paper No. 6, Department of Agricultural Economics and Rural Sociology, The Pennsylvania State University, November 1973.

18. Miller, Delbert C. Handbook of Research Design and Social Measurement. New York: David McKay Company, Inc., 2nd Edition, 1970.

19. Easterlin, Richard A. "Does Money Buy Happiness?". The Public Interest, Winter, 1973, pp. 43-48.

20. Strumpel, Burkhard. Economic Well-Being As An Object of Social Measurement. Ann Arbor: Institute for Social Research, 1973.

21. Hoke, Richard. Personal correspondence relating to review of a manuscript, 1974.

22. Eberts, Paul. "Guidelines for Management and Design of Rural Development Research." Unpublished Report of the Task Force on Rural Development, National Academy of Sciences. Department of Rural Sociology, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York, August 1974.

23. Weiss, Carol H. Evaluating Action Programs. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1972.

24. Madden, J. Patrick. "Social Change and Public Policy in Rural America: Data and Research Needs for the 1970's," American Journal of Agricultural Economics, Vol. 52, No. 2, pp. 303-314, May 1970.

EVALUATION NEEDS UNDER TITLE V OF THE RURAL DEVELOPMENT ACT OF 1972

Howard C. Tankersley

Program Evaluation - One View

Program evaluation is accomplished for one or more of three basic purposes: (1) to make program adjustments to increase the effectiveness of the program underway or to increase the probability of success with the next effort we undertake; (2) to determine the "worth" of staff members or to justify salary adjustments, promotions, terminations, and/or other personnel actions; and (3) to justify expenditures for programs to those who award or administer funds. ES and CSRS are interested in evaluation to justify expenditures and to make program adjustments. We have little interest in evaluation to determine "worth" of personnel. This we consider State business.

The dictionary defines Evaluate: to ascertain the value of. A search of evaluation literature reveals that evaluation requires three basic functions which may be articulated as three stages of the evaluation process:

1. Documenting - furnishing evidence of needs, plans, procedures, inputs and outputs or results.

2. Arraying evidence documented in a logical or rational display.

3. Appraising - setting value on the evidence arrayed.

Many evaluation systems have been described in the literature but, I assert that all fit into a continuum containing four fairly distinct types. The continuum runs from Cost/Benefit Analysis, where dollar costs and benefits are measured on cardinal scales, to Classical Operations Management where an ordinal scale of costs is displayed against an ordinal scale of effects or achievements. Cost/Benefit Analysis is always done in a formal sense and is documented while Classical Operations Management is often used without documenting anything in writing and is carried on in the Manager's or Supervisor's head.

Documenting and Arraying are always the responsibility of the professional or manager. The Appraising function is the responsibility of the professional or manager only in Cost/Benefit Analysis. Appraising must be done by the decision-maker, those who award or administer funds, in the

---

Howard C. Tankersley is Program Leader - Rural Development, Extension Title V Coordinator, Extension Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, D.C.

other three types of evaluation systems discussed here. We must presume that there will be a direct correlation between the skill of the professional or manager in documenting and arraying and the decisions reached.

The four systems on the continuum are as follows:

1. Cost/Benefit Analysis - Dollar costs are displayed against dollar benefits and Cost/Benefit Ratios are computed. The ratio suggests that costs exceed benefits or benefits exceed costs but it does not identify the incidence of costs and benefits or who pays and who benefits.

2. Cost/Effectiveness Analysis - Dollar costs are displayed against a cardinal scale of effects, kill ratios and other numbers games. Cost/Effectiveness analysis numbers games allow computation of per-unit costs which allows the decision-maker to determine for himself whether or not the effects are worth the dollar costs. This type of evaluation sometimes defines the incidence of costs and effects.

3. Program Appraisal - A cardinal scale of dollar or other costs is arrayed against achievements. The incidence of costs and benefits is usually defined. The decision-maker must determine for himself the value of achievements and often he must determine for himself the value of the costs. This system allows for inclusion of social and political as well as economic costs.

4. Classical Operations Management - An ordinal scale of social and/or political costs are arrayed against an ordinal scale of social and/or political effects or achievements. The incidence of costs and benefits are always defined. Examples of these costs and benefits would be: (1) the cost of detente (political culpability) arrayed against the value of detente (absence of cold war); (2) the cost of promoting an outsider to the office of Dean (impact on the faculty) arrayed against the value of such promotion (new blood in the college).

In evaluating extension and research efforts effectively, we will probably utilize Program Appraisal to satisfy the need for justifying program expenditures to decision-makers. We will probably use both Program Appraisal and Classical Operations Management to determine the "worth" of staff members and/or to make program adjustments.

Title V Needs

In evaluating Title V State programs, we face two kinds of needs. The first relates to those provisions of Title V of the Rural Development Act of 1972 which are different from the Smith-Lever and Hatch Acts under which most extension and research work is accomplished in the land-grant system. We must evaluate whether or not we have met or exceeded the intent or expectations of the Congress in funding Title V. The second need is to evaluate program effectiveness. Meeting these needs will allow us to justify, or fail to justify, expenditures and to determine needed program adjustments - find out what we are doing right or wrong and indicate changes needed in the future, if any.

Intent of Congress

An analysis of Title V and the legislative history of the Rural Development Act of 1972 reveals certain expressed or implied expectations of the Congress. These are as follows:

1. The audiences that will be served are: units of general purpose government at the State and local levels; special purpose multi-jurisdictional units of governments; organizations of local people involved in development; and industries that provide, or may provide, employment in the rural community. I believe it is fair to conclude that Congress perceived these to be the most important audiences to be dealt with in rural development and that they were not being dealt with sufficiently at the time the Act was passed.

2. Divisions of the land-grant university other than agriculture, engineering and home economics and institutions of higher education other than land-grant universities will be involved in developing the rural community if the extension and research functions are to be performed effectively and sufficiently. I believe it is fair to conclude that Congress held at least five perceptions about extension and research in the land-grant system at the time the Act was passed: (1) the focus of the extension and research functions in the land-grant system has been confined to the interests and disciplines most common to the colleges of agriculture, engineering and home economics; (2) the disciplines and subject matters traditional to extension and the experiment station are not those that are appropriate to meeting the extension and research needs of the audiences defined for development of rural America; (3) Title V would shift the focus of land-grant university extension and research from agriculture, engineering and home economics to development of the rural community - to meeting the needs of the audiences listed above; (4) Title V would make possible extension and research work, appropriate to the needs of the audiences defined, in developing rural communities; and (5) research and extension work by other institutions of higher education is needed.

3. Development needs of rural communities will be identified by professionals and lay leaders in the States. Integrated extension and research efforts to meet these practical needs will be projected in the State Plans of Work which will be submitted to professionals and lay leaders for approval before being sent to USDA. I believe it is fair to conclude that Congress perceived rural development needs to be practical in nature, that they ought to be identified, defined and articulated by people in the local rural communities, and research and extension efforts undertaken to address these needs.

4. Research and extension functions of institutions of higher education will be co-ordinated, integrated and focused on practical problems expressed by local communities. I believe it is fair to conclude that Congress perceived a lack of co-ordination between research and extension functions in the land-grant university.

5. Educational programs (research and extension) will be co-ordinated with other rural development efforts of the State, local and Federal governments. I believe it is fair to conclude that Congress perceived a lack of co-ordination between the agencies of government at all levels in developing rural communities.

6. Title V is a small pilot effort of 3 years duration to test the techniques and organization for rural development research and extension. I believe it is fair to conclude that Congress meant to test whether or not a federally-funded program of educational assistance to rural communities can succeed when it is: (1) administered in connection with the Hatch and Smith-Lever Acts through the land-grant universities' extension services and experiment stations; (2) when it is aimed at solving practical development problems of rural communities; and (3) when it involves disciplines from outside the colleges of agriculture, engineering and home economics in the land-grant university and from other institutions of higher education in the State.

I can assure you without qualification that all of us in ES and CSRS are cognizant of the low level of funding for Title V and the demands upon the experiment stations and extension services to supplement such funding to support Title V programs. However, if we have accurately identified the perceptions held by Congress as the reasons for including those provisions of Title V which are different from the Smith-Lever and Hatch Act programs, we must conclude that Congress will not accept the argument advanced by some that we have already proven, under the Hatch and Smith-Lever programs, the techniques and organization effectiveness of the land-grant system to deliver rural development assistance. If this is a correct assessment, we must also conclude that the evaluation information, which we supply Congress and the Administrators in our universities and the Department of Agriculture, will be taken seriously. We must, therefore, take our evaluation responsibilities seriously. If we have accurately assessed the intent of Congress and the reasons for expressing this intent in the Legislation, we will need to document and array evaluation information related to the following:

1. The audiences involved.

2. The involvement of other institutions or faculty members from colleges and universities other than land-grant. The extent and kind of involvement.

3. The involvement of faculty from divisions of the land-grant university other than colleges of agriculture, engineering and home economics. The extent and kind of involvement.

4. The role and involvement of the State Rural Development Advisory Councils. The extent and kind of involvement.

5. The extent to which the focus of the program is on practical problems of the rural community. The kinds of problems and who identified them.

6. Co-ordination or integration of research and extension efforts. The extent and kind of co-ordination or integration and the systems or alliances which evolved to facilitate co-ordination or integration.

7. Co-ordination between educational (research and extension) efforts and other rural development efforts and activities in the States. At least show that they were not in opposition to each other.

A proper documentation and arrayal of information relating to these issues should satisfy the need to show whether or not we are meeting or exceeding the intent or expectations of the Congress regarding the capability of the land-grant system to organize a program which will deliver rural development educational assistance effectively.

Program Effectiveness

Evaluation of program effectiveness is required under the provisions of the Rural Development Act of 1972. It is necessary in order to document the effectiveness of the techniques employed to deliver rural development assistance. The impact of the information generated will extend beyond the immediate demands of Title V. Our program efforts under Title V are not grossly different from our program efforts under Smith-Lever or Hatch Act funds. Therefore, any evaluation information generated about Title V will be extremely useful in articulating purposes, objectives, procedures and subject matters dealt with in all research and extension efforts in community or rural development.

Evaluation for program effectiveness ought to document and array evidence related to achieving the objectives stated in the Plan of Work. To do this, the objectives, as refined, will need to be stated and the following kinds of information documented and arrayed:

1. Inputs - a description of what was planned and what was actually done by researchers and extension workers in achieving or pursuing the objectives.

    a. Research or technical assistance provided - the kind and to whom it was provided.

    b. Information and educational assistance provided - the kind and to whom it was provided.

    c. Organizations developed or assisted - number and composition (make-up) of organizations created. Existing organizations assisted and kinds of organizational assistance given.

    d. Leaders identified, mobilized or assisted - numbers and composition.

    e. The science man-years of extension and research time given to Title V programs by all institutions of higher education in the State.

2. Outputs - Outcomes - Achievements - what is achieved in relation to what was stated in the goals or objectives.

    a. Problems or needs of the community that were identified, articulated, analyzed and/or documented. Priorities given.

    b. Alternatives for meeting needs or solving problems that were identified, articulated, documented. Alternatives that were selected.

c. Solutions implemented or toward which action programs or projects are underway - or on which decisions were later made to take no action. Consider things such as:

- improvements in community facilities or services, local economy, land use patterns, etc.
- new patterns and practices established - problem-solving mechanisms institutionalized.
- policies changed and/or established.
- extent to which problems have been ameliorated or solved or needs met.
- changes from situation statement in Plan of Work.
- judgements of individuals, groups, agencies, public officials and planners as to what has been accomplished and the value of the accomplishments to the community.
- estimate of man-days of volunteer leadership given to the community by leaders assisted.

d. Alterations or adjustments in organizations or institutions:

- in program or project efforts.
- in composition (make-up).
- in purpose.
- in leadership.
- in viability.
- inputs of organizations into solving of community problems.

e. Impact on people in the community - as judged by the people of the community:

- on individuals.
- on community government.
- on relations between community government and the citizens of the community.
- on community sub-systems - cultural or racial groups.
- on relations between the community and adjoining communities.

A proper documentation and arrayal of information related to these issues should satisfy the need to show the effectiveness or lack of effec-

tiveness of the techniques we employ to deliver rural development educational assistance in the land-grant system.

One last thought. Whether or not we like it, we are in an age of accountability in public services. We must be accountable for what we say we will do and for the public funds expended to do it. We must be accountable to those who provide the funds. Or, we must decide that we don't wish to participate. That is always one of our alternatives, of course. I would prognosticate that those programs in the public sector for which the leaders are reluctant to be accountable will not be discontinued immediately. What we might expect is a gradual decline in support, beginning with a decrease in the rate of increased funding, and a shift of funding to newer pieces of legislation which impose controls with which leaders must comply or face criminal or civil action or total loss of funds.

THE EVALUATION OF DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS

Edward O. Moe

INTRODUCTION

This workshop on evaluating Title V programs provides the opportunity for a valuable exchange of ideas. The context within which we work, including the array of expectations different groups hold for Title V, can be explored and clarified. Alternative concepts of development and evaluation can be examined. Much can be gained from hearing about the programs and the plans for evaluation of the various states. Discussion of the plans will suggest ways in which they can be strengthened, and through which they can contribute more both to practice and knowledge.

The papers by Olaf Larson, Pat Madden and Howard Tankersley provide the overview and the perspective needed and suggest some promising approaches to the tasks we confront. What I have to say will build on what has been said.

Title V seems to make more sense, given the grandness of the design and frustrations of the level of funding, if one puts it in the context of the Land Grant University's continuing attempts to renew its research and development delivery system. Basically, we are attempting to build capacity at two levels.

1. Capacity at the community level to initiate and sustain development, to solve community problems, and to make continuing adjustments to the larger environment.

2. Capacity on the part of land-grant institutions and other helping agencies to provide the assistance and resources needed by local people and local institutions to help make their efforts effective.

It follows that creation of new capacity at these two levels requires both within each level and between levels new ways of working, new linking mechanisms, new systems. These are what we are trying to invent.

For decades attempts at development in rural and non-metropolitan areas have faced a hard uphill battle. Industrialization, urbanization, and bureaucratization of American society resulted in greater and greater concentration of population, economic activity, and social services in urban

---

Edward O. Moe is Principal Sociologist and Co-ordinator, Rural Development Programs, Cooperative State Research Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C.

metropolitan areas. National growth and development policies tended to support the concentration. Agricultural strategies for rural development with high substitution of capital for labor reduced employment in agriculture. Lack of alternative employment opportunities resulted in population decline, and a generally deteriorating set of conditions in rural communities.

These forces and their consequences may have "bottomed out". Beale (1974) has made some highly significant observations about "population and settlement prospects".

> "... the nation appears to have arrived at a point where a truism of generations - that American metro areas increase in population more rapidly than nonmetro areas - is no longer valid."
>
> "Employment data support the population statistics. From March 1970 to March 1973, data derived nationwide from State Employment Security office files show an increase of 7.8 percent in nonmetro area jobs and 3.6 percent increase in metro areas. Unlike the 1960's when manufacturing was the only major group with higher growth rates in nonmetro areas, the 1970-1973 figures indicate higher nonmetro growth in every component except government. This means that the trade and services sectors of rural and small city areas have been advancing as well as the goods-producing sectors."

There is no radical shift. We will continue to be an urban-metropolitan nation, but the factors that impelled out-migration are losing or have lost most of their force. As Beale notes, a new perspective is needed to understand both the forces and their consequences.

The policy implications of these changes are far reaching. Two perspectives among others are readily apparent. One would be to shift emphasis from rural development because in some senses it is beginning to happen. Another, and one that has high promise, is that the more favorable climate for rural development which seems to be emerging presents a time to press ahead. Social and economic forces may now support development and make it possible to have greater effect with a given investment of resources. This brings us, then, to development and evaluation.

Development theory, research, and practice in the United States and throughout the world is in a period of searching reassessment. Some thirty years of experience have accumulated since the planning of the ambitious and widely hailed development programs of post-World War II. Despite some conspicuous achievements in the United States and in other countries, advancements in development to date have not been what the developers - whether theoreticians, policy makers, planners, programmers, administrators, or activists - had hoped. This rich experience base provides a unique opportunity for the redefinition of fundamental problems.

One such problem is the evaluation of development programs. Attempts to find some consistent well-designed evaluation studies of development are disappointing. The reasons are not hard to find. They are rooted

in the confusions and complexities inherent in the nature of development and evaluation. Assumptions about the desirability and appropriateness of development, and acceptance of the American experience as proof that we knew how to design and conduct development programs, tended to play down the importance of evaluation. At the same time the confusion and lack of clarity in general design; in goals and objectives; in policies, programs and procedures; in measures or yardsticks for development; and in the conduct of development efforts made evaluation extremely difficult.

Other complications, of course, are inherent in the conception, design and processes of evaluation. Evaluation is most effective when it is a clearly designed, built-in, continuous part of development programs. In practice, evaluation rarely met these conditions with the consequent loss both of solid evaluation and a better understanding of the nature of development itself.

The set of ideas in this statement is an attempt to identify and outline some of the critical considerations in the evaluation of development programs. From this set of ideas, critical elements can be identified in the design and evaluation of specific development programs.

MAJOR SECTIONS OF THE STATEMENT ARE:

I. ON THE NATURE OF DEVELOPMENT

II. A CONCEPTUAL VIEW OF DEVELOPMENT AND DEVELOPMENT PROCESSES

III. THE NATURE OF EVALUATION: ITS FUNCTIONS IN DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS

IV. SOME GUIDELINES IN THE EVALUATION OF DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS

V. SOME CRITICAL ELEMENTS IN THE EVALUATION OF TITLE V PROGRAMS

I. ON THE NATURE OF DEVELOPMENT

Searching questions have been raised about what development is, and what distinguishes it from something which is not development. There is general recognition that the concept is at the same time both deceptively simple and horrendously complicated. There seems to be somewhat general acceptance of the idea that it connotes improvements in the position of people and social and economic entities - organizations, communities, regions, nations - with respect to certain key values such as income and wealth, education, health, well being, dignity, capacity, political effectiveness, and freedom. It is also thought to imply, whether used in botany, engineering, psychology, child development, economics, sociology, or other disciplines . . . an unfolding or movement toward some sets of conditions or states of affairs regarded as desirable such as adulthood, maturity, self-sustained social and economic growth, differentiation, or quality of life.

One may view the conceptual difficulty, in part, as rooted in the so-called normative problem. Development is inescapably a normative concept, and one can not deal with it without invoking both internal and external yardsticks in analysis as Warwick (1968) observed.

Social scientists, in particular, are caught up in the normative problems and the underlying values issues. It has been much easier for social scientists to talk about social change, cultural change or modernization. These are more neutral concepts. They deal with what is happening or what will happen. When one uses the term development or underdevelopment, there is the implicit connotation of someone's idea as to what should happen to people, to communities and societies. It is in this way that both internal and external yardsticks become involved in choices of what people want, and what they establish as goals and objectives of development programs.

Differentiating Ideas on Development

A useful question to confront is the differentiating idea in the concept of development. What distinguishes development from a set of conditions or a state of affairs which is not development? The writer had the privilege of exploring this question with some fifty Cornell faculty and graduate students from a wide range of disciplinary and experience backgrounds (Moe, 1971).

It was possible to lay out a number of emphases which characterize ways of thinking about development. Emphasis as used in this context does not mean that a person leaves out, ignores or does not recognize other aspects and implications of the concept of development. It is significant, also, that every person interviewed saw development as essentially interdisciplinary or requiring sophisticated interdisciplinary contributions to build on and extend the perspective of the separate disciplines.

The major emphases around which the various points of view can be described are:

Goal-directed, goal-oriented change

Preferred states or levels of well-being

Use of resources

Capacity of individuals

Capacity of systems

Increased levels of productivity

Quality of life

Sets of conditions characterizing development

Level of differentiation

Number of options

Surplus of product/skill.

Each of these emphases was briefly examined in the paper referred to above.

The Confusion About Development

It has been evident for some time that great confusion characterized thought and conceptualizations of development. This has become more apparent as the experience of the last quarter of a century has been reviewed and re-analyzed. In this section of the paper, the major aspects of the confusion as seen and experienced by Cornell faculty, administrators, and graduate students is a useful illustration. A number of faculty members put their view succinctly: ". . . we didn't know what it was, but we thought it was a good thing. We are about in the same situation now."

The major confusions expressed in the interviews are these:

Lack of clarity about what development is.

Failure to deal constructively with the value problem.

Overdependence on aggregated quantitative and/or narrow quantitative ideas and measures.

Equating means with ends - technology, structure, institutional forms, process.

Fragmented and single disciplinary approaches.

Moralistic speculation.

External manipulation - high profile of the helper, helping agency or helping nation.

Failure to anticipate and project consequences, and to see second generation problems.

Endemic Problems in Planning and Development Processes

Some significant assumptions, both ideological and managerial, underlie current thinking about planning and development. Among these are:

1. Some re-emphasis on the role and responsibility of local government, local public and private planning and development agencies and local leadership within the Federal system,

2. Some ideological reassertion that local government is best able to identify and solve local problems and initiate and direct development programs, and

3. Reconsideration of questions of scale with emphasis on decentralization.

Continuing analysis of the planning and development programs of the sixties and seventies points up some basic and persistent problems. These seem to have compromised efforts to achieve the "great society", and to build system capacity at various levels. A National Academy of Sciences, National Academy of Engineering report (1974) re-identifies these basic considerations:

1. Lack of congruency between locally perceived needs and national priorities and programs.

2. Failure to match statements of priority with resources, personnel, and funds.

3. Tendency for problems to be greater or smaller than the jurisdiction of the relevant unit of government.

4. Failure in planning and development to encompass the full social, economic and political dimensions of problems.

5. Failure to integrate planning and development with political processes of decision making and allocation of resources.

6. Inadequacy of research and evaluation tools (both the state of the arts and the use of what is available) to assess processes and ascertain impact of programs.

In one way or another, we contimually encounter these problems in developing, implementing and evaluating programs under Title V. Program objectives may be different, funding levels may vary widely, but these kinds of problems are always there.

II. CONCEPTUAL VIEW OF DEVELOPMENT AND DEVELOPMENT PROCESSES

A simple framework for thinking about development and for analyzing development programs has emerged out of past and present work. Development programs or efforts may be analyzed in terms of:

1. Clarification of the goals in development, and what development is defined to be - in specific terms. What is supposed to occur? What are the ends or the desired states to be attained?

2. Identification of the units within which development is to occur. Are the changes desired changes in individuals, organizations, communities, multi-county units or some other units, or are changes to be made concurrently in several units and in the relationships among units?

3. Specification of the processes and strategies by which development is to be attained. These processes and strategies need to be defined in very specific terms and examined as to their appropriateness for attaining the ends specified.

4. Internal and external measures by which development is to be gauged or evaluated. What are the criteria by which some determination can be made as to whether development has occurred or the extent to which it has occurred? Again, great clarity and specificity are required.

Development, while difficult to attain, is an intriguing idea in human society. Life and events do not have a flow in linear fashion from past to present to future. We have been successful in making projections of what conditions will be like five, ten and fifteen years into the future. Building on such projections, development presents the opportunity to go beyond projections to more precise descriptions of what we would like to see exist, or what the alternatives might be in terms of some desired future states. If we are clear about the ends, it is likely we can devise the policies and the strategies to achieve the ends. At least we will know more clearly what we are about, and the magnitude of the task we confront in development. To the extent that we do this, we can come into the present from the future as well as from the past.

A Chain of Events

Development connotes movement from what exists to the achievement of ends defined as the goals of development. The ends may be certain desired states, certain conditions, or the initiation of new procedures

and processes. The movement is considered to occur through a series or a chain of planned events. These planned events are initiated as being appropriate, or the most appropriate, ways of achieving the ends. A number of attempts have been made over the years to define the sequence of steps. The major "schools" in community development have proposed "models" defining and describing the steps. Some examples are the models used at Michigan State, Missouri, Southern Illinois, the University of Chicago, the University of Washington, the University of Utah, the Lindeman model; and others (Moe, 1965). The community development models are somewhat similar to "social action models" such as Beal (1964) or to the stages of policy development suggested by Freeman (1970).

One view of the major phases or stages in development is outlined below. Some of the steps within each phase are also identified. These phases and the steps within them are always on-going, interrelated, and never as discrete and separate as they appear in written form.

I. PLANNING

Planning Mechanism Adapted or Created
Mechanisms for Citizen Involvement Devised/Used
Problem/Situation Analyses; Needs/Wants
Assessments Made
Search for/Analysis of Alternatives
Goal Setting/Policy Formulation Initiated
Monitoring/Assessment/Evaluation Initiated

II. ORGANIZING/MOBILIZING RESOURCES FOR DEVELOPMENT

Continuing Planning/Further Specification of Goals and Objectives
Continuing Citizen Involvement
Designing Education/Action Programs
Adapting/Creating Organizational Structure/Procedures
Identifying/Development of Leadership
Identifying/Gaining Access to Local/Outside (or Internal/External) Resources
Monitoring/Assessment/Evaluation

III. CONDUCT/IMPLEMENTATION OF PROGRAM

Planned Activities/Events Conducted
Continuing Citizen Involvement
Monitoring/Assessment/Evaluation
Modification of Activities/Programs/Organizational Structure/Procedures

IV. REPLANNING/RECYCLING OF PROCESSES

Goals, Programs, Activities

There are many different ways in which development may be pursued and the sequence of events described. This is one way. It is not the way, nor is it intended to be a definitive statement. It is sufficiently complete, however, to use as an illustration and as a point of reference for clarifying an approach to the evaluation of development programs. It will enable examination of inputs, outputs, processes and products at various stages of a development program.

III. THE NATURE OF EVALUATION: ITS FUNCTIONS IN DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS

Most definitions of evaluation in common usage identify two significant aspects of the process - (1) the determination or measure of the quantity of something such as activities, programs, events, inputs, outputs, impact, and (2) some judgement of, or determination of, the value or worth of what has been done or what has resulted. This is frequently expressed as a kind of general measure of the costs and benefits and some balancing of the benefits against the inputs or costs. This should not be confused with more specialized cost-benefit analysis, which is a particular form of evaluation.

As evaluation is used in various public and private organizations and agencies it tends to take these forms:

(1) Monitoring - the attempt to determine whether agreements or contracts or programs are implemented according to an accepted plan and the attempt to determine how they might be implemented more effectively. This is closely related to processual evaluation described below.

(2) Performance Evaluation - the measurement and interpretation of the performance of people in various positions in designing and implementing activities and programs.

(3) Processual Evaluation - the building in of an information and feedback system to provide data for modification and improvement of programs, processes and procedures while they are being implemented.

(4) Program Effects/Outcome Evaluation - the attempt to determine the extent to which, and the effectiveness with which, program objectives are achieved.

(5) Impact Evaluation - a broader concept which involves not only the outcomes but the overall impact of the achievement of outcomes on the total community or the total system, and on individuals, groups or significant subparts of the system. It is a form of evaluation that attempts to get at the intended and unintended consequences of policies and programs. The emphasis is on an estimate of what

happens and not on the precise determination of specific program efforts.

These are significant interrelated aspects or emphases in evaluation. In one way or another, they are all expressed in the more consistent and continuous attempts to plan programs and determine their outcomes. These aspects of evaluation take on particular significance in assessing development programs.

A Conceptual View of Evaluation

To begin with, evaluation is a fundamental process in all human activity. Loomis, for example, identified evaluation as a basic process in his model of a social system. Normative activities such as development occur within a definable context or set of circumstances. People in communities, multi-county regions or states or nations, for example, enjoy a way of life and an array of goods and services. They also experience problems, and have wants and hopes and expectations that are unfulfilled. Income may be low according to both internal and external yardsticks. Unemployment may be widespread. Significant resources may be present which could be developed to expand the employment base and the local economy. Health and medical care may be inadequate. Career education programs may be needed in the schools to help young people plan their futures around their own educational and occupational aspirations and expectations. The capacity to initiate and sustain change or development or make needed and desired adjustments is inadequate. A development process such as outlined above is initiated. Some planning is done. Goals and objectives are established. A development program with a supporting plan and development organization is launched. Action and educational programs are designed and implemented.

Evaluation of development or other programs or activities may be conceived as having these major aspects:

(1) Defining the context within which development is to be pursued, including establishing some base lines or known starting points from which planned attempts to achieve goals and objectives can be measured.

(2) Documenting the inputs, the things that are done, the programs and activities initiated and the resources used to bring about improvement and to achieve the goals and objectives that have been set.

(3) Documenting the processes or the ways in which programs are implemented. It would detail ways in which planning is done, decisions made, communication channels established, the interaction patterns that emerge, the critical incidents that

occur, the interpretations of and changes in policies, and other such features.

(4) Documenting the outputs or the outcomes or effects of what is done. To what extent are the goals and objectives achieved? Questions about the effectiveness of the activities planned in achieving the goals are also to be considered.

(5) Assessing the overall impact of the program as a whole and its major activities on the total system and important subparts of the system such as different groups of people and different political units. This is a significant overview which goes beyond the more specific questions of the ways and the extent to which goals and objectives are achieved. The concern is basically with consequences, both the intended and the unintended.

The Basic Functions of Evaluation

Evaluation including evaluative research is viewed as having five basic functions:

(1) Enables the selection of goals and action and education alternatives in achieving goals which are most likely to be successful.

This suggests that evaluation begins when development begins. The measuring-judging process is distorted when it is seen only in terms of the achievement of program goals.

(2) Builds on the collection of data and feedback needed for correction and adjustment while programs are underway, and enables keeping activities in line with goals. It also provides data for the modification of goals.

(3) Enables determination of the extent to which, and the efficiency with which, goals have been achieved.

(4) Enables making some overall assessment of the impact of programs on people, on systems and system processes, and

(5) Enables documentation and use of what is learned about designing and implementing development programs.

In one way or another, something is done in relation to all of the functions whether or not there is an explicit evaluation effort. Information is pulled together. Alternatives are defined, judgements are made, and action taken. The process may be unsystematic, piecemeal and fragmented but it occurs. An explicit evaluation effort attempts to make the process systematic and to assure effective pursuit of the functions.

Inputs and Outputs in The Development Process

As pointed out above, evaluation is considered to have five major aspects - definition of the context and establishment of some base lines or known starting points from which measurements and judgements can be made, a documentation of inputs, a documentation of processes, a documentation of outputs and an assessment of the overall impact on the system or systems and their significant subparts. Before discussing the problems of inputs, processes, outputs, some clarification of the context and base lines or known starting points is needed.

Expenditure of effort in a program more or less assumes that something will occur, and that the changes will be in the direction defined in the goals and objectives. Determining whether or not the changes planned actually occur requires some specification of what the initial conditions are. The specification of the context and number and kinds of base lines needed, depends, of course, on the nature of the program. There has been some tendency in research to spend more time and effort on contexts and base lines, and to collect more data than is needed. The definition of contexts and base lines should be adequate but not overly elaborate. In an early evaluative study of the diffusion on agricultural technology, the base line was the level of adoption of 12 recommended practices by a small carefully selected sample of farmers. It proved adequate.

An ingenious example of a base line emerged in a consultative session on the evaluation of the work of a newly formed area agency on aging in a multi-county area in the Southwest. The mission of the Area Agency is to mobilize resources and encourage the design and modification of community services to enable elderly people to continue to live independently in their own homes. After exploring many possibilities which were far beyond the resources of the agency, it was proposed that the current rate of admission of people to nursing homes in the area be accepted as a baseline. An evaluation of the rate of admission and the types of people admitted would make possible three significant kinds of findings, (1) did building in new services for the aging affect the rate of admission? (2) had people been admitted previously who could now return to their own homes? and (3) what kinds of services were needed that would enable others being admitted to continue living independently?

Base lines or known starting points are needed. They need not be elaborate and costly. The more thought given to their selection and use, the simpler and more appropriate they are likely to be. We can now consider inputs and outputs in the various phases of the development process.

In the charts that follow, an attempt has been made for each phase of the development process outlined earlier, to identify inputs and outputs and products appropriate to that phase. The inputs-outputs identified are illustrative of those that might characterize a specific development program.

PHASE I - PLANNING

Sub-Phase	Inputs	Outputs
A. Planning Mechanism Adapted or Created.	Educational programs conducted on the need for development. Plan for entry into the community or area. Leaders/groups interested in development identified. Meetings of leaders convened/ad hoc development group formed. Public meetings - public hearings held.	Leaders' knowledge about planning increased. Attitudes toward planning more favorable. Ad hoc planning mechanism created.
Citizen Involvement.	Volunteers recruited to work on Task Forces. Neighborhood meetings held. Community/county committees to define development goals organized.	Public awareness of problems/need for development increased. Community/neighborhood leaders identified/involved/trained. New mechanisms/ways of involving citizens initiated. New communications patterns with citizens, public officials, agencies initiated.

0051

PHASE I - PLANNING (Continued)

Sub-Phase	Inputs	Outputs
C. Problem/Situation Analyses; Needs/ Wants Assessment.	Research findings/technical assistance on area problems provided. Meetings conducted on community problems and community development goals. Development planning organization created; relation to county, planning departments, EDA district defined.	Statements of community/ county area problems and needs written and accepted by planning officials/county commissioners/citizens. Development alternatives defined. Understanding of alternatives on the part of leaders/citizens increased.
D. Search For Alternatives; Analysis of Alternatives.	Consultation/technical assistance provided on development alternatives. Public meetings/public hearings held.	Development alternatives described and analyzed with advantages and disadvantages.
E. Goal Setting/Policy Formulation	Research findings, experience to help define goals, policies provided. Technical assistance in writing goals, policies provided.	Development alternatives selected; statements of development goals, written/accepted.
F. Monitoring/Assessment/Evaluation	Consultation/technical assistance provided on building an evaluation component into the program.	Plan for evaluation accepted; context defined; base lines selected/established; process documentation/feedback of information established. Increased desire/readiness to proceed with a development program.

J052

PHASE II - ORGANIZING/MOBILIZING RESOURCES FOR DEVELOPMENT

Sub-Phase	Inputs	Outputs
A. Continuing Planning/Further Specification of Goals and Objectives.	Continued technical assistance/ consultation in planning. Information/research findings/ feasibility studies provided; problem/situation analyses made.	Planning accepted/used as a continuing process. Specific plans made. Plans utilized in making decisions. Public understanding of planning/specific plans increased.
B. Citizen Involvement.	Creation of opportunities for citizens to become involved/leadership positions, task forces, community/neighborhood committees, work groups.	Public support for planning/ development increased. Potential conflicts over uses of resources avoided.
C. Designing Education/Action Programs.	Public informational - educational meetings conducted. Designing educational action programs . . . to improve services - health and medical care, emergency health services . . . to promote/ seek industry . . . to enable local industry to expand, etc. . .	Number/types of new educational/ action programs designed. Increased awareness/participation in programs. Knowledge levels about community needs/alternatives increased.

0053

PHASE II - ORGANIZING/MOBILIZING RESOURCES FOR DEVELOPMENT (Continued)

Sub-Phase	Inputs	Outputs
D. Adapting/Creating Organizational Structures/Procedures.	Alternative organizational structures/procedures explored.	Number/types of new organizations created.
	Organizational plan developed/ initiated.	New development organizations created to provide leadership for total development effort.
	Linking mechanisms defined/ established.	Policies/procedures defined/ written.
		New linking mechanisms/new patterns of communication/ cooperation in development created.
E. Identifying/Developing Leadership	Continuing identification/involvement of new leadership.	Numbers of leaders identified.
	Leadership recruited for planning/ development organizations.	Numbers of new leaders serving in development planning/program development capacities.
	Leadership training provided.	Number of leaders trained/ contributions of leaders to development/planning.

0054

PHASE II - ORGANIZING/MOBILIZING RESOURCES FOR DEVELOPMENT (Continued)

Sub-Phase	Inputs	Outputs
F. Identifying/Gaining Access to Local/ Outside (or Internal/External) Resources.	Sources of local/outside funds to support development planning/specific development projects; need for specialized help identified, analyzed. Assistance provided in developing requests for funds.	Funds obtained from public/ private sources. Effective uses of information, technical assistance, research findings.
G. Monitoring/Assessment/Evaluation	Designs for evaluation built into specific development program components. Plans for monitoring activities/ programs developed.	Written plan for evaluation accepted by development/ planning/action groups. Plans made for continuing review and action on monitoring/feedback data.

0055

PHASE III - CONDUCT/IMPLEMENTATION OF PROGRAMS

Sub-Phase	Inputs	Outputs
A. Planned Activities/Events Conducted.	Planned activities/events conducted.	Problems identified/ameliorated/solved.
	Information/technical assistance/research findings provided on a continuing basis.	Number/types of programs/activities conducted.
		Changes from base lines, e.g., new patterns; awareness of services/use of services/satisfaction with services received.
		Increases in the number of jobs/income/wealth.
		Changes in land use patterns/land use planning/decision-making priorities.
B. Citizen Involvement.	Existing organizations assisted/new organizations made operative.	Major new policies developed.
	Continuing effort in citizen involvement/leadership identification recruitment/training.	New patterns for involvement of citizens/leaders accepted and used.

0056

PHASE III - CONDUCT/IMPLEMENTATION OF PROGRAMS (Continued)

Sub-Phase	Inputs	Outputs
C. Monitoring/Assessment/Evaluation	Continuing assistance/follow-up on evaluation. Data from monitoring/process evaluation made available. Assistance provided in exploring implications.	New planning/problem solving mechanisms established. Existing organizations strengthened/new organizations created to meet specific needs; specific changes in purpose; processes, activities; people served, leadership, contributions in solving community problems; communication processes/levels of collaboration among agencies. Judgements of local people as to the effect/impact/strengths/inadequacies of the program. Suggestions as to ways in which such programs could be improved.

0057

PHASE III - CONDUCT/IMPLEMENTATION OF PROGRAMS (Continued)

Sub-Phase	Inputs	Outputs
D. Modification of Activities/Programs/ Organizational Structures/Procedures.	Continuing assistance/technical assistance/consultation/provision of research findings and experience modifying organizational structure/processes.	Impact on people, groups, total system. Groups helped most - least. Groups for whom costs outweighed benefits. Changes in way development is defined, planning is done/ programs are organized and implemented/evaluated. Relationships between private/ public efforts in development. Clarification of roles/major contributions of private/ public agencies. Changes in relationships among USDA agencies/Land Grant Universities. Changes in relationships between Land Grant University and other institutions of higher education. Changes in Land-Grant University/ State agency/local government relationships. New staff/leader training guides. New guide books/manuals on rural development. Syntheses of research findings.

0058

PHASE IV - RECYCLING/REPLANNING

Sub-Phase	Inputs	Outputs

Need for Strategical Thinking and Strategical Planning

Involvement in development programs accentuates the need for strategical thinking. If we can conceive of development as occurring in stages over time, and if we can plan and do within each stage what is critical to that stage, we will enhance our chances of success. Development goals in the early stages of programs are somewhat unreal. They acquire significant meaning as we work on them, and move toward them. What we are struggling with in this workshop is a way to bring this about. Clarifying the stages and building in evaluation as a self-correcting mechanism is a long step in the right direction.

IV - SOME GUIDELINES IN THE EVALUATION OF DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS

Reflection on some thirty years of experience and observations of the field of evaluation leads one to the conclusion that some principles or guidelines have been identified. They represent a useful summary and, as such, are presented here.

1. Evaluation is more effective when it is designed within the hierarchy of the explicit and implicit ends and means operating to guide programs and within the specific sequence of activities planned to achieve the ends.

   Development moves through a chain of means and ends in which the achievement of many ends or goals and objectives become means for achieving other ends. Planning and plans are a case in point. While the building in of planning as a process and the completion of written plans are significant ends, they are perhaps more important as means to other ends.

   Evaluation to be effective must be designed within the hierarchy of means and ends. It must also take into account the strategies and subtleties involved in the setting of goals and objectives and the devising of means. The more conversant evaluators are with a development agency and with the factors which affect its programs, including its concern with survival, funding and relationships to other agencies, the more pertinent and realistic evaluation will be.

2. Evaluation will be more effective when it is an integral, built-in, continuous part of a development program.

   When evaluation is an integral, built-in continuing part of a development program, it can best meet the conditions identified in 1 above. It also enables building in of an information-feedback system that strengthens every phase of the development program; it helps in the selection of more promising development alternatives and the means for their achievement; it helps keep the program and activities geared to the goals; it helps modify and re-define the goals when necessary; enables the determination of outcomes and impact; and importantly; it helps document what has been learned and expands the knowledge and experience base on which new development

programs may draw.

3. Evaluation is more effective when it utilizes the knowledge and experience of program designers, field staff, researchers, and administrators, and identifies and serves their special needs.

   There are significant differences in the needs and interests of different individuals and groups in the evaluation of any program or activity. To the extent that an evaluation design can identify and respond to these needs, as well as those which deal with program effects and impact, the more effective it will likely be.

4. Evaluation will be more effective when it explores in the building of a design or a plan for evaluation the critical issues and potential conflicts about goals such as the agency's goals, the community's goals, and the goals of special interests; when the implications of negative outcomes are explicitly examined; and when a substantial consensus is established on such critical issues.

   Development programs usually involve a wide array of people, groups, public and private organizations and agencies, and communities and political units. Title V is an excellent example. Their goals and objectives as well as their reasons for participating in a development effort are likely to be incompatible and may be conflicting. The genius in designing development programs is to increase compatibility in goals and expectations and to reduce the likelihood of conflict. Evaluation can be an effective tool both in understanding potential conflicts and in continually building in ways of strengthening consensus at points where it is most threatened.

5. Evaluation is essentially an internal process. It is most effective when it is designed and managed by an agency to assess its own program and activities, and when it has built-in safeguards to protect the agency against its biases and its myopic view of reality.

   Evaluation, while it may be done by an organization itself or done by an outside group, is essentially an internal process. The greatest potential gains to an agency are those related to increased knowledge and skill about what it is trying to do. For an agency concerned with development, it is the knowledge and skill about how to design and implement development programs. External observations, studies, and audits have a significant role to play in protecting an agency from its own biases. The uses of such devices are to be encouraged, but they should supplement and extend rather than confuse the internal management of and responsibility for the evaluation process.

6. Evaluation is more effective when it utilizes the knowledge and competence of research and evaluation specialists in the design of evaluative studies and evaluative criteria.

   As indicated above, effective evaluation requires maximum use of ideas, knowledge, and skills of the staff members of an agency.

This may include special knowledge and competence in evaluation. When it does not, such technical assistance should be obtained from other sources. Effectiveness is further enhanced when such "outside" specialists have a good understanding of the type of program being evaluated.

7. Evaluation is more effective when all the types of people and agencies participating in a program, or affected by it, are involved in the attempt to determine and interpret outcomes and impact, and what is learned.

   Involving people and agencies who participate in or who are affected by programs in their evaluation assures a more accurate and comprehensive view of what has been done. Such groups have information and perspectives that are critically needed. Failure to involve them could lead to incomplete or erroneous interpretations.

8. Evaluation and development programs themselves are more effective when these conditions are met:

   a. Some careful realistic description and analysis of context is made and carefully designed base lines are established from which potential changes can be measured and interpreted.

   b. Some simple ways of monitoring activities and providing useful feedback are determined and built-in.

   c. Some significant criteria and measures of effect and impact are defined, and

   d. When the responsibility for evaluation is assigned and understood.

   The conditions are a further specification of the guidelines stated above and the discussion in the paper itself. Establishing these conditions means that a design has been created and enhances the likelihood that it will be used.

9. Evaluation is more effective when the initial acceptance of a workable plan is strengthened by competent, consistent implementation of the plan.

   The real value of an evaluation plan comes into focus when it is implemented with imagination and understanding, and the kinds of data needed to make decisions are actually provided. Failure to provide such data for whatever reason - a poor plan or inadequate implementation - threatens not only the evaluation effort but the development program itself.

10. Evaluation is more effective when an attitude of non-defensiveness and mutual trust is established in the design and implementation of an evaluation plan.

Attitudes of non-defensiveness and mutual trust are critical in evaluation. When they exist, critical issues can be confronted and reasonable solutions devised. When they do not, attempts at evaluation become painful and are avoided. Development efforts are impeded and learning frustrated. The choices are never easy.

These guidelines are one way of summarizing a perspective on evaluation. Based as they are on observations and reflections over a considerable period of time, they represent an attempt to sort out what seems to have worked. The probabilities are high that evaluation components of development programs which meet these guidelines will be more effective.

V. SOME CRITICAL ELEMENTS IN THE EVALUATION OF TITLE V PROGRAMS

Title V has been interpreted as an attempt to assess the capability of land-grant institutions to deliver research and extension assistance in development. This idea is implicit in the pilot nature of the program. As is so frequently the case, however, the major political decisions will have been made before even one year of the three-year pilot effort is completed. Those who looked realistically at the time table were aware of this from the outset. Funds became available December 4, 1973 and State Plans of Work were due in Assistant Secretary Long's office February 4, 1974. Some Plans of Work were approved before the due date. The last program to be approved was dated June 27, 1974. At this writing, early consideration of the '77 budget is underway and by February 1975 will be well along in the process. Its general form will have been set and most major decisions, at least at the departmental level, will already have been made. At best only one year of a three-year pilot effort could be taken into account.

It is not in keeping with the facts of the situation then to design the evaluation of Title V to influence political decisions on continuation of the program. We are forced both to a more solid and basic justification - and that is to learn as much as we can from the attempt to deliver development assistance through a combined research and extension program. We can sharpen our theories, concepts, practice, and evaluation of development. We have the opportunity in some cases to observe what happens when we involve other public and private institutions, including institutions of higher education. To do this, of course, we must have good designs for evaluation. It is these designs and the critical elements in them which are of specific concern to us now.

The basic plan for the evaluation of Title V State Programs, jointly developed by the Cooperative State Research Service and the Extension Service, includes these four components:

1. A plan for evaluation is a built-in part of each State Plan of Work [(Regulations 23.6(a)(6))]. Emphasis is placed on assessing outcomes in relation to objectives, the effectiveness of extension and research program techniques, and the organizational structure for planning and conducting programs. Appraisals by community leaders in the areas in which programs are conducted will provide significant data. The Cooperative State Research Service and Extension Service will analyze these reports and

prepare summary statements.

2. The Cooperative State Research Service and Extension Service in three areas - economic development, improvement of community services and land use - will work with the States in doing a more intensive evaluation. Information from the State evaluation and some additional information will be used to summarize inputs and outcomes and prepare summaries and generalizations about effectiveness and impact.

3. Four states - Georgia, Kansas, Rhode Island and Utah - one in each of the four regions, have been selected to do an intensive documentation and evaluation of their programs. These studies will identify changes from a baseline and supplement facts and figures with pictorial (audio-visual tape) documentation.

4. Using the three components above - the States' own evaluation, the assessment by type of program, and the in-depth and film documentation - CSRS and ES will prepare a summary document on the overall impact of Title V pilot programs. Particular attention will be paid to such factors as cooperation between Research and Extension, the involvement of other institutions of higher education, and the strengthening of the system for delivering research and development assistance.

Some Critical Elements

While it might be too much to expect, one can still hope that Title V evaluation plans will conform in significant respects to the guidelines outlined above in this paper. One could hope also that the basic functions of evaluation as described on page 42 would be met in ways which would strengthen the program, enable us to interpret outcomes and impact, and to document what will have been learned.

If this is to happen, there are some specific elements or considerations we will need to take into account. These are the major points around which documentation should be planned. These are outlined below:

1. Progress Toward Achieving the Objectives Stated in the Annual Plans of Work.

    a. Problems identified and addressed in the Plan of Work.

    b. Stated goals and objectives - changes in the initial statements of goals and objectives to be documented, including the reasons for modification or adding new goals or establishing different goals.

    c. Statement of the basic strategy to be employed in the program - how are changes to be brought about.

    d. Establishment of some baselines - a specification of some known starting points from which measurements and judgements can be made.

e. Inputs - a description of what was planned and what was actually done to achieve the objectives, both those identified in b above and those that are intermediate in the means-end hierarchy to achievement of the stated goals and objectives.

Inputs would include:

(1) Planning - plans and specification of activities to be conducted.

(2) Activities conducted, including educational, informational and action programs and events.

(3) Organizing and the strengthening of old organizations, and creation of new ones.

(4) Processes initiated/strengthened - new patterns in planning, problem-solving and decision-making.

(5) Involvement of people, organizations, agencies, potential users of research findings or other information, including creation of new mechanisms for involvement.

(6) Leadership recruitment, development, training.

(7) Technical assistance and consultation provided or secured from other agencies.

(8) Access gained/use of new financial/technical resources.

f. Outcomes - what is achieved in relation to what was stated in the goals and objectives.

(1) Statements of community/county/area problems and needs written and accepted by significant groups/citizens.

(2) Development alternatives defined and documented and feasibility determined. Development alternative selected. Plans made and implemented.

(3) Problems solved or ameliorated. Changes from baseline conditions.

- improvements in community services and facilities; income and wealth; the local economy; use of resources - land, water - etc.;

- new patterns and practices established - planning problem-solving mechanisms institutionalized;

- policies changed and/or established in line with program goals and objectives;

- new processes established - such as planning being accepted and plans used in making decisions.

- new community involvement procedures established, leaders recruited/trained.

- judgements of individuals, groups, agencies, public officials, planners as to what has been accomplished and the value of the accomplishments to the community.

(4) Alterations or adjustments in organizations or institutions:

- in program or project efforts;

- in composition (make-up);

- in purpose;

- in leadership;

- in viability, the ability of the organization and the community to solve their own problems;

- inputs of organizations into solving of community problems;

- in relationships or linkages between and among organizations.

(5) Impact on people in the community - as judged by the people of the community:

- on individuals;

- on local government;

- on relations between local government and the citizens of the community;

- on community systems - sub-systems;

- on minority groups or groups frequently left out - blacks, Spanish-speaking, Indians, the aging, women, youth, etc.;

- on relationships between the community and adjoining communities - effects on emerging larger communities, new linking/integrating mechanisms established.

2. Title V Regulations, Organizational Requirements

The usefulness and effectiveness of the Regulations and the organizational requirements such as the State Plan of Work, the State Rural Development Advisory Committee, the role of the Title V coordinators. Major changes or modifications needed.

3. Involvement of Other Colleges and Universities

The kind and extent of involvement; the amount of Title V or other funds spent to defray costs of such involvement, if appropriate; the contribution of other institutions to defining and/or solving community problems; the impact of such efforts on the community, if such information is available at the time.

4. Involvement of Local Units of Government and Regional Planning and Development Bodies -

The kind and extent of their involvement; the relationships between research and extension personnel and such units of government; the role of local and regional bodies in Title V efforts.

5. Relationships of Title V Efforts to Other Rural Development Activities of USDA and Other Federal or State Agencies -

Title V program's utilization of resources and assistance from other agencies; other agency's utilization of Title V assistance.

6. Relationships Between Extension and Research -

Identifying and/or addressing the problems of the community. Ways in which they have worked, on what problems and with what effect? New patterns of relationship/new procedures which look promising.

These are critical elements. There are others, but these seem to relate to all of the programs. Each state is to build its own evaluation design on its own program taking into account these elements.

A FINAL WORD

The Rural Development Act of 1972 is potentially a great piece of legislation. It provides a framework within which local people and local, state and national agencies and governments can combine their efforts to both increase in-community and larger system capacity to initiate and sustain development and to facilitate social and economic adjustment. High frustration, because intentions were not backed by resources, is and will continue to be a significant part of the context in which we have to work. Sharpness in the design of development programs and sharpness in the plans for evaluation will help build knowledge and strengthen development practice. While what we learn may not influence policy and legislation in the short term, it may do so in the longer term and from a more solid base.

References Cited

1. Beal, George. "Social Action: Instigated Social Change in Large Social Systems", in James H. Copp (ed.), Our Changing Rural Society: Perspectives and Trends. Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1964.

2. Beal, George and Hobbs, Daryl J. Social Action: The Process in Community and Area Development. Cooperative Extension Service, Iowa State University, 1969.

3. Beale, Calvin L. "Rural Development: Population and Settlement Prospects", Journal of Soil and Water Conservation. Vol. 29, No. 1. (January - February 1974). pp. 23-27. See particularly p. 27.

4. Bennett, Claude F. and Nelson, Donald L. Analyzing Impacts of Community Development. Southern Regional Community Resource Development Committee, Cooperative Extension Service and Extension Service, USDA, 1974.

5. Freeman, Howard E. and Sherwood, Clarence C. Social Research and Social Policy. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1970.

6. Hayes, Samuel P., Jr. Evaluating Development Projects. Paris: Imprimerie Baudin, United Nations Educational Scientific and Technical Organization, 1965.

7. Loomis, Charles P. Social Systems: Essays on Their Persistence and Change. Princeton, New Jersey: Van Nostrand, 1960.

8. Moe, Edward O. Models in Community Development. Bureau of Community Development, University of Utah, 1965.

9. Moe, Edward O. Major Emphases in Development Theory, Research, and Practice. Department of Rural Sociology, Cornell University. Mimeographed, Spring, 1971.

10. National Academy of Sciences, National Academy of Engineering. Revenue Sharing and the Planning Process - Shifting the Locus of Responsibility For Domestic Problem Solving. Report of the Sub-committee on the Planning Process and Urban Development of the Advisory Committee to the Department of Housing and Urban Development. Washington, D.C., 1974.

11. NCRS - 3. Rural Development and Research Strategy. An Interim Report to the North Central Region Experiment Station Directors, July, 1972.

12. Northwest Regional Educational Laboratory. Rural Futures Development Strategies. Rural Education Program, Portland, Oregon, 1974.

13. Stufflebeam, Daniel L. "Toward a Science of Educational Evaluation", Educational Technology, July, 1968.

14. Suchman, Edward A. Evaluative Research. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1967.

15. Warwick, Donald P. "Human Freedom and National Development", Cross Currents, Fall, 1968, pp. 495-498.

APPENDIX A

Summary of State Title V Program Approaches
Abstracted From Plans of Work for Fiscal Year 1974: Northeastern States

State	Approach or Substantive Area	Geographic Area	Duration
Delaware	"Grass roots" approach	Start 1st year with one community, later add 3 from other types	3 years
Massachusetts	"	Rural towns in four contiguous counties	3 years
New Hampshire	"	Select one community after initial work with four representing different types	3 years
New York	"	One county	3 years
Pennsylvania	"	3 contiguous counties	3 years
	* * * * * * * * *		
New Jersey	Land-use control (transfer of development rights)	One municipality first year	1 year for this part
Rhode Island	Land use (information and education re open space and shore regions use and policies)	State	3 years
Maryland	Economic development (economic development strategy including forming an economic development zone)	Part of 1 county	3 years
Vermont	Economic development (job and income development with emphasis on arts and crafts as a business) and human resource development (training)	Initially 3 counties	3 years
	* * * * * * * * *		
Connecticut	Community services (personal health services)	The 10 townships of a planning region	3 years

State	Approach or Substantive Area	Geographic Area	Duration
West Virginia	Community services (rural fire protection, rural transportation, emergency medical service)	Fire protection- 1 county Transport- 1 county Medical services - several counties	1 year
	* * * * * * * * *		
Maine	Rural housing	2 to 5 towns within 12-town area which includes parts of 2 counties	3 years

APPENDIX B

WORKSHOP ON EVALUATING STATE TITLE V PILOT PROGRAMS
IN THE NORTHEAST

October 29-31, 1974

ILR Conference Center at Cornell University
Ithaca, New York

Sponsored by Northeast Regional Center for Rural Development

AGENDA

Tuesday, October 29

9:00 a.m. Chairperson, Olaf F. Larson, Director, Northeast Regional Center for Rural Development

Welcome - Noland L. VanDemark, Director, Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station and Chairman, NERCRD Advisory Committee (Board of Directors)

Introductions
Local arrangements and workshop procedures

Chairperson, Lee M. Day, Director Designate, NERCRD

Why Evaluation of the State Title V Pilot Programs: An Overview from Different Perspectives - Olaf F. Larson

Discussion

Alternative Strategies for Specific Evaluation Purposes - J. Patrick Madden, Department of Agricultural Economics and Rural Sociology, Pennsylvania State University

Discussion

12:00 Lunch

2:00 Evaluation Needs Under Title V of the Rural Development Act of 1972 - Howard C. Tankersley, Extension Service, USDA

Assignment for work in small groups - Edward O. Moe, CSRS and Howard C. Tankersley, ES

Small group sessions: Discussion leaders -
Edward O. Moe, Cooperative State Research Service, USDA
Helen Y. Nelson, College of Human Ecology, Cornell University
Howard C. Tankersley, Extension Service, USDA
Joan S. Thomson, Pennsylvania State University

Wednesday, October 30

9:00 a.m. Chairperson, Joan S. Thomson, Pennsylvania State University

Sharing session on small group discussions

Critical Elements in an Evaluation Design for Title V - Edward O. Moe, Cooperative State Research Service, USDA

Discussion followed by meetings in smaller groups with the content and procedure subject to the needs expressed by the workshop participants

Reconvene for general discussion with emphasis on how the Northeast Regional Center for Rural Development could facilitate state evaluation efforts

Thursday, October 31

9:00 a.m. Chairperson, Olaf F. Larson

Continuation of consultation, sharing, review, critique, and related activities as desired by workshop participants

Presentation and discussion of evaluation plans of two states - Maine and Pennsylvania

12:00 Adjournment

APPENDIX C

List of Workshop Participants

CONNECTICUT

George E. Whitham, Associate Director
Cooperative Extension Service
University of Connecticut
Storrs, CT

DELAWARE

Daniel S. Kuennen, Area Agent,
Community Resource Development
Kent and Sussex Counties
Cooperative Extension Service
University of Delaware
Dover, DE

Robert L. Meinen
Sussex County office
Cooperative Extension Service
University of Delaware
Georgetown, DE

MAINE

Forest M. French
Community Development Specialist
Department of Agricultural and Resource Economics
University of Maine
Orono, ME

Nancy Melniker, Graduate Research Assistant
Improving Rural Homes Project
University of Maine
Orono, ME

MARYLAND

Keith J. Guerin
Extension agent
Cooperative Extension Service
University of Maryland
Cambridge, MD

Aldo Matteucci
Lecturer
Department of Agricultural and Resource Economics
University of Maryland
College Park, MD

MASSACHUSETTS

John H. Noyes
Community Resource Program Coordinator
Department of Forestry and Wildlife Management
University of Massachusetts
Amherts, MA

Thomas F. Quink
Rural Development Extension Specialist
Department of Forestry and Wildlife Management
University of Massachusetts
Amherts, MA

NEW HAMPSHIRE

Edmund F. Jansen, Jr.
Associate Professor of Resource Economics
University of New Hampshire
Durham, NH

Silas B. Weeks
Extension Economist
Institute of Natural and Environmental Resources
University of New Hampshire
Durham, NH

NEW JERSEY

Merle Adams, Chairman
Department of Agricultural and Resource Management Specialists
Cooperative Extension Service
Rutgers University
New Brunswick, NJ

Henry Byers
Department of Environmental Resources
Rutgers University
New Brunswick, NJ

NEW JERSEY (Continued)

George H. Nieswand
Associate Professor of Environmental Systems Analysis
Department of Environmental Resources
Rutgers University
New Brunswick, NJ

NEW YORK

Joan Egner, Associate Director
Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station
Ithaca, NY

Jane S. Gore
Clinton County Rural Development Program Coordinator
Miner Center
Chazy, NY

Helen Y. Nelson
Professor of Community Service Education
Department of Community Service Education
Cornell University
Ithaca, NY

Carolyn B. Russell
County Coordinator
Clinton County Cooperative Extension
Plattsburgh, NY

Noland L. VanDemark, Director
Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station
Ithaca, NY

Henry Wadsworth, Title V Coordinator
Associate Director, Cooperative Extension
Cornell University
Ithaca, NY

PENNSYLVANIA

J. Patrick Madden
Professor of Agricultural Economics
Department of Agricultural Economics and Rural Sociology
Pennsylvania State University
University Park, PA

PENNSYLVANIA (Con't.)

Kenneth M. Martin
Community Development Specialist
Pennsylvania State University
University Park, PA

Joan S. Thomson
Title V Project Leader
Pennsylvania State University
University Park, PA

Kenneth P. Wilkinson
Associate Professor of Rural Sociology
Pennsylvania State University
University Park, PA

RHODE ISLAND

Earl F. Patric, Associate Director
Agricultural Experiment Station
University of Rhode Island
Kingston, RI

Eliot C. Roberts, Chairman
Department of Plant and Soil Science
Rural Development Research and Extension Project Coordinator
University of Rhode Island
Kingston, RI

VERMONT

Ronald Bouffard
Government Liaison Specialist
Cooperative Extension Service
Montpelier, VT

WEST VIRGINIA

Robert W. Miller
Program Leader - Social and Economic Development
Appalachian Center
West Virginia University
Morgantown, WV

Ernest J. Nesius
Professor of Agricultural Economics
Division of Resource Management
Title V Research Coordinator
West Virginia University
Morgantown, WV

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

Edward O. Moe
Principal Sociologist and Coordinator,
Rural Development Programs
Cooperative State Research Service
U.S. Department of Agriculture
Washington, DC

Howard C. Tankersley
Program Leader - Rural Development
Extension Title V Coordinator
Extension Service
U.S. Department of Agriculture
Washington, DC

Emily P. Wood
Extension Service
U.S. Department of Agriculture
Washington, DC

NORTH CENTRAL REGIONAL CENTER FOR RURAL DEVELOPMENT

David L. Rogers
Iowa State University of Science and
Technology
Ames, Iowa

NORTHEAST REGIONAL CENTER FOR RURAL DEVELOPMENT

Lee Day, Director Designate

Leslie C. Hyde, Assistant to the Director

Olaf F. Larson, Director